FIAT LUX.

OR,

A general Conduct to a right understanding and charity in the great Combustions and Broils about RELIGION here in

ENGLAND.

Betwixt

Papist and Protestant, Presbyterian & Independent

To the end

That Moderation and Quietnes may at length hapily ensue after so various Tumults in the Kingdom.

The second Edition, reviewed and enlarged by the Authour Mr. *IVC.* a friend to men of all Religions.

Canes, Vincent (in religion John Baptist d. 1672

——Jam proximus ardet
Ucalegon. Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

1662.

ON

A General Conduct to a right understanding and charity in the great Combustions and Broils about RELIGION here in

ENGLAND.

Between

Papist and Protestant, Presbyterian & Independent

To the end

That Moderation and Quietness may again laugh and smile after so various Tumults in the Kingdom.

McAtbin
1662
C 32
cop 2
11879

To the moſt Illuſtrious, and moſt excellent Lady, the Counteſs of Arundel *and* Surrey, &c.

Madam,

IT often happens in Books what ſomtime in Children, that although obſcurely born, they are by the benigne aſpect of ſom great Perſon happily caſt upon them, entertained and bred up in princely pallaces, and flouriſh as much by happy chance, as they could have don by a greater birth. I wiſh with all my heart that this little Off-ſpring of mine, which coms running with a modeſt confidence to the feet of your excel-

lent Vertues, which have only moved it to ſuch a boldnes, may find favour in our eyes: ſo that incouraged by the greatneſs of your Name, it may chearfully go in and out conſpicuous in the world, and do the good my heart deſireth. To the end it may bear with it ſome poſſibility of acceptance both, Madam, with your Honour and with the world too, I have to my power imprinted upon its forehead the generall lineaments of noblenes, Reaſon and Civility. But other Ornaments are ſo far wanting, that it may not expect entertainment, but where ſom great part of that Goodnes which hath rendred the *Counteſs*

of

of Arundel ſo renowned and gracious may inhabite.

The Book carries no other intent but what a Perſon of Honour may own: and its purpos written upon its face anſwers directly to its heart and ſpirit. It would for ſooth pacifie our rurall diſtempers about affairs of Religion, and ſhowes a Light that Madnes may ſee what it does, where it miſtakes, and how irrationally it rages. This is the very end and purpos of my Book, laudable enough I may preſume, and not unworthy the countenance of Honour, were it accompliſhed with that art ſo good a purpos requireth. Let your own excel-

ling goodneſs, Madam, cover the other defects; and graciouſly accept what I humbly offer, a ſincere though not very profound, not a high and eloquent, but which is harder in the rude diſtempers I am to deal withall, a peaceable, harmles, well-meaning Book. In my dark obſcurity I dye daily; but my aſhes will joy, if it ſhould haply fall out, that good be wrought in *England* unto the promoting of ſobernes in any one, by the *Counteſs of Arundels* F I A T L U X: and ſo will thoſe with me, who may chance to receiv any ſatisfaction from this little Light, be bound to your Ladiſhip, whoſe countenance and favourable aſſiſtance

has

has been the inſtrument of ſetting it forth. Your Honour was pleaſed, as ſoon as it was conceived and before it was born into the world, when you had once perceived it to ſtudy moderation and charity, ſo good a deſign and in theſe times ſo wholeſom and neceſſary, to call it *Your Book*. And that your call, Madam, made it both then to be, and as yet to liv; which had otherwiſe been ſtill-born and periſhed in the birth. And I pray God it may in ſom ſort attain that End which your nobleſt Piety ſo much approves, and is indeed onely aimed at by him who is, *Madam*,

Your Honours moſt devoted Servant, J. V. C.

The Chapters.

Firſt. Page 19.

THer is no colour of reaſon or juſt title may move us to quarrel and judg one another with ſo much heat about Religion.

Second. Page 66.

All things are ſo obſcure, that no man in prudence can ſo far preſume of his own knowledge, as to ſet up himſelf a guide in Religion to his neighbour.

Third. Page 155.

No religion, or ſect or way hath any advantage over another, nor all of them over Popery.

Fourth. Page 229.

All religions who have oppoſition to the Catholick are equally innocent to one another, as likewiſe is the Roman religion truly innocent and unblameable to them all.

Fifth. Page 393.

Moral topicks for charity and peace.

The

The Paragraffs.

§ 1. *Diversity of fends* page 19
§ 2. *Ground of quarrels* p. 27
§ 3. *Nullity of title* 33
§ 4. *Heats and resolution* 48
§ 5. *Motives to moderation* 55
§ 6. *Obscurity of God* 66
§ 7. *Darknes of nature* 82
§ 8. *Item* 91
§ 9. *Mystery of Providence* 108
§ 10. *Help* 127
§ 11. *Reason* 137
§ 12. *Light and Spirit* 155
§ 13. *Puritan plea* 171
§ 14. *Protestant pro and con* 186
§ 15. *Scriptur* 198
§ 16. *Appeal* 214
§ 17. *History of religion* 229
§ 18. *Item* 239
§ 19. *Item* 245
§ 20 *Item* 251
§ 21. *Discovery* 260
§ 22. *Messach*

The Paragraffs.

§ 22. *Messach* 270
§ 23. *B. Virgin* 283
§ 24. *Figures* 288
§ 25. *Tongues* 297
§ 26. *Table* 310
§ 27. *Heroes* 321
§ 28. *Dirge* 344
§ 29. *Pope* 359
§ 30. *Popery* 381
§ 31. *Mas comedido.* 393

FIAT

FIAT LUX.

Preface.

The motive, matter, and method of the Book.

THese twenty years of inteſtin wars and broils principally if not ſolely upon the account of Religion being now paſt, and the tempeſt ceaſed upon the return of our great Pilot to whom ſuch winds and ſeas ought to obey, unto the government of his ſhip out of which our unruly paſſion caſt him to our own great ſhame and ruin, it is now high time for us to lay our hand upon our heart and be ſober.

An irregular fire of zeal, a meteor-lanthorn hath led us into lakes and precipices, and there left us. But God forbid that for the time to com we ſhould any of us by ſuch deceitful lights be any more miſled. And this that we may all heed, as it is the earneſt deſire of all good Chriſtian ſpirits; ſo is it the only ſcope and endeavour of this little book, which I humbly offer and preſent unto the hands of my Countrimen, eſpecially the gentler and more re-

refined natures, of whoſe favourable acceptance I conceiv greater hopes than from any vulgar eye, which expecting to read the old common places they are fore-acquainted with, and in the uſual tract and method, will I fear when they miſs here of both, like of nothing. But gentlemen by their highnes of birth and education have put on other affections; and do ſomtimes more heed a plain rational diſcours unto a commendable end, though deſtitute of all guard but its own ſingle reaſon, than the ordinary large retinue of autorities and texts, which may indeed much ſtrengthen and adorn a book, but hinder a reader in his progres: and generally they diſlike any new book that differs no otherwiſe from former ones, than a new moon from an old one.

Theſe paſt times between 1640. and 1660. and the horrour of them, wherin we wer afraid even to think, and that in our private cloſets, I intend not here to ſpeak of; for poſterity, ſhould I write true and fully, would never beleev it; and if fals or imperfectly, the preſent age eywitnes of the truth would ſlight it. Beſides I would not willingly now offend any whom I have been aforetime ſo hugely afraid of. Charity alſo towards my neighbour perſwades me, that the long Parliament and all their adherents had an appearance of ſom great good before their eyes, which they were not

able

able to wield: for when they had all under their feet that might any wayes oppose or hinder their design, yet could they never bring to pass any of the specious things they made pretens of; the great welfar of our kingdom, settlement of a pure religion liberty of conscience, and freedom of the subject; unto all which their actions were so contrary all these twenty years together, that no man could discern by their doings that they did so much as mean any such thing; whether it were that they did indeed never sincerely intend, or were not able to compas, or by several concurrencies of affairs were diverted and justled from that end unto wayes utterly opposite both to our good and their own too.

I was ever of opinion all the while, that the account of religion, as the case stands, needed not of all other things so highly to incens us one against another unto such injurious outrages as past amongst us; and found in my heart several times to put pen to paper and utter my minde; but I was retarded by the two reasons of my own small ability, and my Countries indisposition at that time to such discours. But now people seem more calmly disposed, and my self somwhat bettered by reading more books of Quakers, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and by the society of these and several others, Welwillers, Seekers, Atheists, Philosophers. The

books

books of Roman Catholicks I had perused and digested aforehand: our Protestant Religion I understood long ago being born and bred in that way. So that an exact knowledg of all I am to speak, together with my long observing experience, will I hope somwhat supply my other wants.

One thing incourages me not a little to this enterprize; which is that I have frequently observed, that it is not alwayes a store either of eloquence learning or wisdom, that strikes a stroke in asswaging differences; but such a hidden caus sometimes in the words and gestures of persons, as we may rather call it chance than any thing els. I have my self pacified neighbours, even in their hotteſt dissentions; when others of greater wisdom and acquaintance have prevailed less. So that I have therupon concluded, that these kind of feudes against charity may have in them somwhat of the property of the *Tarantulaes* stingings, which be cured not by the best musick but the fitteſt.

Another thing I must adde; that I never yet heard of any that so much as endeavoured to allay our religious distempers by the general lights I go upon: without which notwithstanding every one will remain so fixed in his own way, that little good can be wrought; as by daily experience we find it true. The Prince of

all

all topicks in the allaying of these kind of combustions is that of Virgil. — *Sed motos præstat componere fluctus.* Controversies be written on this side and that, invective defiances made on all sides without end, confutations of Sects bitter enough every where, objections and replies endles, some for Papists, some against them, some against our Protestants some for them, some by Presbyterians some by Anabaptists, some by Quakers against all, some by all sorts against the Quakers. But all these kind of disputes be so far from quenching, that they adde still more fewel to the fire, and make it both to flame more vehement and last longer and spread farther, whiles every one remains so inveigled and addicted to his own way, that he execrates all the rest, and cannot let fall a good word for any, or acknowledge a truth in them: but Popery, the devil of Popery we are so transported with the hatred of it, that we could tear it in pieces with our teeth. My dislike therfor of such mistakes and ungrounded rancour, and the love I bear to a right understanding urge me to attempt, what I see in this way no others go about, a mitigation of groundles but dangerous animosities. I had the very same good purpos when I wrote the *Reclaimed Papist*, but Satan hindered me in that: and I am resolved now once again for the good of my Countrey which I dearly love, to

try

try if I can compas it another way.

But I am finally inflamed to this work by a sight of his *Majesties* most gracious Speech, together with the Lord *Chancellors*, unto the two houses of Parliament upon their adjournment in *September* 1660. where one may evidently see our Sovereigns most earnest and even groaning desire of a moderate and prudent comportment in this Land one of us towards another, according to the dictamen of our Christianity and right reason in these matters of Religion, together with a promis of his utmost endeavours to our general satisfaction, if we in the interim could but have patience and charity one towards another, till he may understand how to please us all. Could wisdom and goodnes it self desire aught of us, that might either be more facil or rational or more pleasing than that we should be good to our selves! And who would not endeavour to his power what he sees so great a Prince desires, as a thing necessary to the welfar of our Land, which for want of this moderation hath been lately so miserably harassed and undon.

My Lord Chancellors words upon his Majesties suggestion are these. *Ther are two other particulars which I am commanded to mention, which were both mentioned and commended unto you by his Majesty in his declaration from Breda, the one for confirmation of sales or other recompens*

for

for purchases; the other for the composing of those differences and distempers in Religion, which have too much disturbed the peace of the Kingdom. Two very weighty particulars, &c. For the first his Majesty hath not been without much thought, &c. the other of Religion is a sad argument indeed. It is a consideration that must make every religious heart to bleed, to see religion which should be the strongest obligation and ciment to affection and brotherly kindnes and compassion, made now by the pervers wranglings of passionat and froward men the ground of all animosity hatred malice and revenge. And this unruly and unmanly passion, which no question but the divine nature exceedingly abhorres, sometimes and I fear too frequently transports those who are in the right as those who are in the wrong, &c.

These be the learned Chancellors words (set down more at large in the last §. of my book) so grave and pathetical, that if they were seriously pondered as they deserv, might suffice to put us to a stand even in the highest carreer of our most uncharitable animosities upon Religions account. How many wayes does the honourable Oratour turn himself to move us to our own welfar, how wisely does he select his topicks, how sweetly unites, how vigorously presses, *ab essentialibus, ab effectibus, à contrariis, ab inconvenientibus, à dissimilibus, &c.* to this effect;

Religion is the ciment of affection; muſt or can that be the ground of malice? Surely that is an evil paſſion, by what ever name it be intitled, that tranſports as well thoſe that are in the right as thoſe who are in the wrong unto effects in every right judgement injurious and hateful to the divine nature. Not ſtrangers, but allies and friends, and men otherwis of moſt agreeable natures, under this colour of religion and by it, becom firſt unſociable then uncharitable, firſt half friends, then full foes; not for any harm either of word or deed, but only a diſparity of thoughts, ſuch thoughts too as concern not one another, but only paſs betwixt man and his maker; nor is it becaus one man will not, but becaus he cannot think as another doth. And God himſelf muſt patroniſe theſe our uncharitable diviſions, whiles purely for his ſake we hate one another heartily: we hate even to death ſuch as otherwis be our deareſt friends, for his ſake and upon his account who commands us to love our enemies; and enmitie is our utmoſt profeſſion in the mannaging of his Religion, who told us himſelf that the fulfilling of his whole Law is Love. The Primitive Chriſtians were in all judgements good ones; and yet their badg and practis quite contrary to ours: theirs was love and peace even to the admiration of their enemies, ours hatred and war even to the confuſion of

our

our friends; they dyed for, we by one another; they by the vertue of their Religion cimented together, who before by affection and blood ſtood far divided, we by ours do ſeparate in all we were before conjoyned; theirs made new friendſhip, ours diſſolves the old. But when the honourable Lord Chancellour addes in the cloſe. *This diſquiſition hath coſt the King many a ſigh, many a ſad hour:* What honeſt heart would not at that word be ready to burſt aſunder? Is that great princely innocence contriſtated by my ſelf ruinous diſorder? Far be it from me to ſadden that royal breaſt, in which the Almighty ſits and ſwayes over me for my good.

My Reader be pleaſed to underſtand that I intend not directly in this my diſcours, to juſtifie or judg any opinion, but only to ſhow that wars and enmities upon ſuch an account between neighbours is neither pious nor rational. But the acroamatick part which would prove our contentions about Religion to be irrational fills up the book; the moral which ſhows them to be unconformable to true piety and vertue is compendiouſly finiſhed in the concluding paragraff. And if I do let fall words that may favour any one opinion or way more than another; it is only for this end, that I may therby allay the heats of the other ſide which is intemperately ſet againſt it more then any els;

if to depres any, it is to abate the exceſſive both conceit we have of it and faction for it without any juſt caus: that ſo the oppreſſed may be a litte eaſed and raiſed up, and the oppreſſor checkt by his own conſcience; which is the only way of introducing equality of thoughts and unanimity amongſt us: And when we are once perſwaded to think more moderately of that ſide we have hitherto hated, and to diſcern ſom uncertainty in the other we ſo much doted of; ſo that our affection may riſe where before it was too low, and where it was too high there begin to fall, and that aſmoothnes and equability may appear once in us; then we ſhall be pretty well diſpoſed to a right underſtanding and peace. St. *John Baptiſt* the great precurſor of the worlds *Meſſias*, whoſe office was to prepare mankind to receive him, had nothing els to do for that purpos but only this very thing; as if this kind of ſmoothnes and equability in mens affections were the beſt and only preparation unto the grace and peace of Jeſus Chriſt within us. *The voice of a Crier in the deſert*, ſaith the Prophet *Iſaias*, *prepare the way of our Lord, make the waies level, every valley ſhall be raiſed up, and every mountain and hill ſhall be brought down, and crooked things ſhall becom ſtraight, and rough made ſmooth, and then all fleſh ſhall ſee the ſalvation of God.*

My matter is perceived by the prefixed gene-

rall

rall contents of my five chapters. 1. Ther is not any colour of reaſon or juſt title, to move us to quarrell and judg one another with ſo much heat about Religion. 2. All things are ſo obſcure, that no man in prudence can ſo far preſume of his own knowledg, as to ſet up himſelf a guide and leader in Religion to his neighbour. 3. No Sect hath any advantage at all over another, nor all of them together over Popery. 4. All the ſeveral kinds of Religion here in *England* are equally innocent to one another; and Popery as it ſtands in oppoſition to them is abſolutely innocent and unblamable to them all. 5. As ther neither is nor can be any rationall motive for diſputes and animoſities about matters of Religion; ſo is ther an indiſpenſable morall caus obliging us unto moderation, if we either conſider the various incommodities of hatred and rancour, or the large ſweetnes and convenience of charity and peace.

My method I do purpoſely conceal, to keep therin a more handſom decorum: for he that goes about to part a fighting fray cannot obſerv a method, but muſt turn himſelf this way and that, as occaſion offers, be it a corporal or mental duel. So did good St. *Paul* in his epiſtle to the *Romans*, which of all his other letters as it hath in it moſt of ſolidity, ſo hath it leaſt of method in the context. The reaſon is, becaus

it was intended to allay ſom heats and feuds that were riſen in *Rome* amongſt the converted Jews and Gentiles there, who began after their converſion to upbraid and diſable one another (as ſuch childiſh heats will riſe) with their former unworthines. The converted Jew eſteemed himſelf the better man, becaus his Nation was Gods choſen from the beginning, out of which the Meſſias came, and the Jews were in a continual ſucceſſion both before their converſion to Chriſtianity and after it ſtill Gods ſervants. The converted Gentile on the other ſide maintained, that he had notwithſtanding the darknes of his condition ſo worthily behaved himſelf even by the meer light of reaſon, that God was pleaſed of his love he therfor bore him to call him to the light of Goſpel, to ſerv that Lord of glory whom the Jews had crucified. S. *Paul* to end this quarrel turns himſelf to and fro, firſt on this ſide, then on the other, as occaſion preſented it ſelf; and finding the parties reſolute in a queſtion hard to decide as it was ſtated, and both ſo deeply ingaged that they could not eaſily be reconciled, that he might the better part them he knocks them both down; and he diſſipates all pretenſes of their own worthines, to the end they might both of them have recours to Gods mercy which was equally ſhewed to both, and ſo have peace among themſelves.

This

This is the occaſion and end and ſumme of that Epiſtle, which it ſeems our Miniſters ſom of them do not underſtand; otherwis they would not cull out of it ſo many various texts againſt the Chriſtian doctrin of good works and their merit, ſo abſolutely impertinent to that purpos, that I cannot but be aſhamed to ſee grave men to defend the caus ſo frivolouſly. The works whoſe merit S. *Paul* diſables there, were apparently ſuch as were don before converſion, of which the abettours would have thoſe works to be the caus, works acted in Judaiſme and Paganiſme, without Chriſt, without the aſſiſtance of his grace, without his command, without his promis of reward for them, and conſequently without any acceptablenes they might have upon thoſe grounds. But what is all this to the diſabling of Chriſtian good works, don in Chriſt, by his ſpecial grace, out of obedience to his command, with a promis of everlaſting reward, and intrinſick acceptability thence accrewing. Look if Goſpel do not make out Chriſtian merit in this point; ſee if do not clearly ſpeak forth both Chriſts word commanding, his grace aſſiſting, his love accepting, and the riches of his goodnes crowning all ſuch good works don in him for his love with eternal reward. *Com ye bleſſed for I was hungry*, &c. But this only by the way.

The occaſion then of that ſacred epiſtle being

manifeſtly to make peace between two ſtickling barrettours, as it required a great judgment and ſpirit in the authour to write it well, ſo could it admit but little of method in its progres. And a man may eaſily diſcern, that the Apoſtle turns himſelf now againſt the Jew, then ſodainly againſt the Gentile, then to the Jew again; ſtill diſabling all the utmoſt they could either of them do, or pretend to do before their converſion, as any way of ability and power to merit either it, or the grace and life they had by it. And it is to be noted too, that wheras the Jew had three times more of plauſibility on his ſide than the Gentile had, St. *Paul* ſpeaks leaſt againſt him that was the weakeſt ſide and moſt oppreſſed; but where he checks the Gentile once, he rebukes the Jew three times, and never lins 'till he had laid his inſulting in the duſt, So proper it is to an ingenious nature to withhold the ſtrong domineering party, that the weaker and oppreſſed may gather a little heart, and diſcern himſelf at leaſt in as good a poſtur as his antagoniſt. Now my purpos ſith it is very like that of the good Apoſtle, I ſhall not I hope be blamed for imitating ſo great a Doctour in his method.

And although to every one of my five chapters I do adjoin ſom general contents, as I have ſaid; yet are they not to be looked upon as confined to that place, but that other matters will

will in each chapter and its feverall paragraffs occurr; and alſo thoſe very contents be elſewhere hinted at: for I do intermingle my topicks, according as they ſeemed at any time conducing to the right underſtanding I aim at; which I have don on purpos to keep up the appetite, and refreſh it with variety: So in taſts an *Olla* hath that good relliſh, which all the things contained in it without that generall mixtur and ſeaſoning would never have apart. My Reader will ſee alſo, that ſom things are but ſlightly touched, which he would think ought to have been more ſeriouſly proſecuted; ſom again he will imagin too prolix, others too often to appear and too ſodainly to vaniſh, like *Virgils* ghoſt. *Omnibus umbra locis adero:* and all ſo interwoven, that in one paragraff it can hardly be gueſſed what is to be handled in the next. Theſe and other ſuch things which ſome may diſlike I have a reaſon for, and I hope my reader whoſe profit and pleaſur I only wait upon will give me leav to uſe it. A ſeaſonable gentle air invites men abroad whom a ſtrong wind would have kept within doors; and I hope this my familiar diſcours may move many of my countrimen who would not have looked upon ſolid and ſtudied controverſies, to read and perhaps recover that good diſpoſition of mind I wiſh them, even with their own pleaſur and good liking. Our land this laſt twenty years hath

hath been in a chaos of confusion, a *Tohu* and *Bohu*, without either form or order; and we all findes our selves in a mist, in a wood, in a darknes almost invincible by our several divisions and subdivisions of partles in the way of Faith. But I hope, that by the help of this Discours, which is intended as a general light unto all Books, Sermons, and Controversies wherby people are drawn into so many several distracting opinions, we shall find the way out, at least know where we are: My order and phrase be suited to the present times, but the matter and purpos concealed in it of a lasting concernment: *Qui legit intelligat.* This is all I have to prefate; and I wish no more but truth and peace to all, and to the whole Israel of God.

First

First Chapter.

Ther is no colour of reaſon or juſt title may move us to quarrell and judg one another with ſo much heat about Religion.

§. 1.
Diverſity of feuds.

THe applaus and honour of this world is a thing deſired and pleaſing to all perſons, from the Prince in the court to the Peaſant in the cottage; even as wealth and place by which it is atchieved. Nor is ther one of a thouſand that follows not the inclination, to the end he may attain it in that degree his condition is capable: and they get it ſom by chance of birth and education, ſom by induſtry and worth, ſom by ſubtilty and wit. Hence proceed thoſe many high attempts we ſo much wonder at in this world, (for arts and trades began at firſt through a neceſſity of food, and the conveniency we found in mutual ſociety) ſuch attempts I mean, as were apt to lead the vulgar into a fit of admiration; as be the two great excellencies of power

power and knowledg, and their great atchievements; that for defence of laws and kingdoms, this for the adornment of nations and purer pleasurs of more refined intellects. And both of these have many branches and kinds, and each hath a diversity of graduall perfections. He that cannot sway a Province, will tirannise in his Parish; and if he he cannot appear abroad, will domineer in his own hous: so likewise on the other side, what glory the emulous Plebeian sees given to higher spirits for sciences they cannot reach, or for a supervisorship of Religion they may not hope for; this by the contempt of the one and reformation of the other do they go about to compass in the world; first by words and pen (if they can write) then, if they multiply and grow strong enough, by rude force and violence: and still the pretens for all is cleanly and fair washed over; that applaus and glory may both accompany strengthen and crown the design.

What strang things have been attempted by emperours and great captains and commanders upon earth, all histories make mention; and it is a pleasant speculation to consider it. But the method and severall ways of enhancing fame by inventions and discoveries of truths prosecuted by contemplativ heads, what and how various they have been in the Pagan world, we may in part gather out of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Lucretius*,

us, M. Tullius Cicero, and ſom other few monuments yet kept amongſt us. What they have been in the Chriſtian world livs more freſh in our memories: but theſe are of two ſorts; one in explication and defens of faith againſt all oppoſition poſſible to be made by any kind of adverſaries, Jew, Heretick, or Pagan; and this hath been the employment of the moſt ſublime eagles that ever the Chriſtian Church had, S. *Auſtin, Magiſter* ſententiarum, *Alenſis*, S. *Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Gandavenſis, Scotus*, and the like: The other in oppoſition to faith, which roſe up in ſeverall ages for the exerciſe of his myſtick Body who was in his own perſon not onely oppoſed by outward adverſaries, but deſerted by his own.

I love thoſe eminent Pagan wits: and this commendation they have, that they are our firſt maſters in all our Sciences; that they performed what they undertook to write, moſt ſolidly acutely and exactly, both for judgment clearnes and method; and thirdly, that they confuted one another (for they were divided in opinions as well as we, and it was expedient they ſhould be ſo) not in reviling words, as we Chriſtians do, but in ſober and pureſt reaſon: although the arguments of their diſcours inferred ſomtimes very little to the confutation of an adverſary; becaus they often proceeded upon ſeverall principles not ever rightly underſtood,

ſtood, or at leaſt for more particular advantage wilfully miſtaken.

And in this method of ſobriety do our two great Schollers, the civil Lawyer and Phyſician write, when they put forth treatiſes either one body of art againſt another, or one member & perſon in particular againſt another in the ſame body. So likewis did our ſubtile Schoolmen proceed five hundred years ago, with no leſs ſweetnes of ſpirit than profoundnes of reaſon, whoſe intention was to explicate and defend Chriſtianity even in the way of *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy, by which the Pagans had for a thouſand years oppoſed it to the much prejudice of Chriſtian Religion, which the Prieſts and Doctours of ancient times would not undertake to defend by a Philoſophy they found ſo much tending to atheiſm, and in ſo many things fals: that is to ſay contrary to the principles and faith they had received from *Jeſus*, whoſe word they preferred before all the Philoſophers reaſons in the world.

Theſe Schoolmen divided into divers branches by occaſion of a ſeverall interpretation of *Ariſtotle*, either in the way of S. *Thomas* of Aquin the Dominican, whoſe Doctrine for the moſt part was followed in *Cambridge*, or of ſubtile *Scotus* the Franciſcan whoſe chair was at *Oxford*. And in other parts of the Chriſtian world they had their chairs erected accord-

ing

ing either as chance or favour pleaſed. But all was then don with no leſs exact charity than ſublime reaſon: for they had nothing els to do in their Schools, but onely by argument and diſputation to try the grounds and ſolutions, whether if a Pagan himſelf or other antagoniſt, whoſe perſon every opponent repreſents, ſhould diſpute againſt them, they could then be able to com off in their defenſions with applaus and honour, and without prejudice of their Faith.

But when we com to view the oppoſite judgements in matters of religion commonly called hereſies, eſpecially in this laſt age, (for the reſt before theſe dayes have periſhed by the prevalency of one party againſt which all the reſt bandied together) as theſe be very groſs and homly diſputes, ſo are they managed on the opponents ſide with ſo much unſeemly behaviour, ſuch unmanly expreſſions, that diſcreet ſobriety cannot but loath and abhorr to read them. Not reaſon but defiances, not charity but execrations, not ſubtilities but downright defamations, not civil reſpect but vileſt diſeſteem, not cool perſwaſion but precipitous condemnation fills each page we look on; and fire and ſtones fly about where meeknes peace and charity ſhould moſt appear.

And all theſe religion-diſputes whether we conſider the ſubject they are about, or the manner

ner they are handled, or the diſtracting variety into which they run concerning faith revealed (which can be but one) I do not ſee what other effect they can hav upon mankind, but to ſubvert all civill reſpect and charity, and good manners, and laws and kingdoms where they come. For no man is content, if he pretend to have diſcovered a new way of religion, unleſs all other men embrace it; and preſs and pulpit muſt ring with loud cries againſt all that do not, be they neighbours or ſuperiours, until the ſword it ſelf be ſharpened in our hands for battle. Thus beginning with the ſpirit we end with the fleſh.

It is not my meaning to interpoſe in any particular controverſy, whoſe multitude hath already made the world to nauſeate; but to hold up my diſcours in ſuch generall tearms, as I ſhall think may ſerv, if we lay our hands upon our heart and ponder them with a Chriſtian ſeriouſneſs, ſo many of us as be now uncharitably bent againſt our neighbour, ſomwhat to allay and mitigate the many flaming heats of diſcord raging here in *England*, as much or rather more than any other countrey for opinions concerning faith; which as they are taken up at firſt upon ſelf-conceit and intereſt, as experience hath ſufficiently ſhown, ſo are they upon all rules of Chriſtian vertue and prudence, if we ever mean to be happy, to be depoſed.

deposed. Be not *many* masters; for where all would sway there none obey, and so ruin and mischief must needs follow.

The difficulty is, I know not how to express the parties in this *Religion-feud*, that I may not offend: for so bitterly is each side bent against the other, that they will not endure to have them called by their own names. But I notwithstanding should deem it not onely a civility but a due debt so to do; for that is every ones name by which himself will be called, and not what an enemy gives him. The *Protestant* is such a one, and so to be named, though his foe on one side sirname him *Papist*, and his adversary on the other call him *heretick*: so the *Catholick* likewise by his junior foe is called *Papist*, by his elder enemy, a *Galilean*: and altho he may if he will, yet I do not think him bound to answer either to that appellation or this, and therfore if I behave my self civilly towards him, I can use neither.

And as it is for nomination of persons, so likewis for the verities of their opinions: no party will endure that any one truth of the other side should be acknowledged, and he that shall do it will be looked upon as a common enemy by the rest: In so much danger is even ordinary neighbourhood and civility amongst us, when these feuds are once raised. I have known good *Protestants* endangered these times of our civil

wars for calling their neighbour (of whom they had occasion to speak) by the name of *Catholick*, whereas according to the usual language of the feud he should have said *Papist*. So strangly are we incensed in these matters. Even our good nature is changed: for *Englishmen* have been thought in the opinion even of forreign nations the faireſt conditioned and beſt natured people in *Europe*, whereas now these religious feuds have made us the very worſt. The *Hollander*, what a kind of man he is by natur it is well enough known; and yet in this piece of prudence and civility he excels us beyond compare: their towns do often exhibite in one and the same ſtreet; here a *Jew*, there a *Christian*, *Lutheran*, *Calvinist*, or *Catholick*; and yet all these convers together without any rancour or misprision at all, heeding without any thought or consideration of their opinions only the moderation and common honesty they use in their contracts, which if it be good, all is well that concerns neighbours; for the reſt let God judg. And in every hous they serv God each one in his own way undisturbedly, without fear of penal law, danger of pillaging, vexation of purſuivant, harraſſing of ſouldier, any ill looks or maledictions or heart-burnings at all upon that account. This comportment is more manlike, it is more Christian, it is far more gentile and honourable than the contra-

ry

ry in the judgment of any discreet sober man in the world: and yet in all other respects that be commendable how far doth the *Englishman* exceed the *Hollander*.

Witty observing travellers have noted that all other Nations besides ours, can admit of severall opinions or reformations without hazarding their wits; but we and onely we in *England* loos ours; & the testimony is too true. Indeed to undermine the place and dignity of such as maintain an old religion or science is a piece of some kind of ingeniousnes or industry; but to do it with rancour disturbance and ruin, this carries with it neither ingenuity nor any reason at all: if the thing be good, by a supervening hatred and uncharitablenes the good work is infected; if it be ill, the malignity is doubled. But charity as it gives a new life to vertue, so doth it cover a multitude of sins.

§. 2.

Ground of quarrells.

THe nois and tumults that be in the world are partly about things known, partly about things unknown; accordingly as men apply their spirits to the one or the other: the intent and aim of all men in these their heats, being in truth, whatever they pretend, (and the pretens is ever coloured over) no other

thing but an affectation of power and tyranny over other men.

The known things about which we do so much contend, are reduced by a wise man unto these three heads; *concupiscence* of flesh, *concupiscence* of eyes, and *pride* of life; expressing by an usual metonimy the object by the act: and he addes, that this is all the world contains, namely in order to the worldly or sensual mans desire: for a worldly temptation must needs be one of these; and about some of these is all our worldly emulations conversant, the concernment either of our pleasurs or wealth or honour. Unto *concupiscence* of *flesh* belongs all that is apt to pleas the lower senses of *Touch*, *Taste*, and *Smell*; which be versed in the more tangible emploiments of nutrition, vegetation, and generation. To *concupiscence of the eyes* all that may delight the upper senses of *sight* and *hearing*; as gold, silver, chains, jewels, costly attires, dresses, furnitures of rooms, delicious walks and gardenings, musick, applaus of men, and the like. To *pride of life*, the things that tickle the inward senses and *imagination*, as great titles, large retinue, offices and command of state, with all worldly superiority. These are the things that inflame mankind to so many combustions in this world: each man thrusting forward and crowding to be first, in that he proposes to himself as the object

ject of his chief content. The feud began with the world, and will not wholly ceas so long as it lasteth in its present state of corruption: tho it hath been in som times and places much mitigated by vertue of a religion which *Jesus* our Lord planted upon earth on very purpos to slake this hellish fire.

And it is to be observed that the *Tempter* (as it is recorded by one of the Evangelists) assaulted even the very sacred Person of our *Lord* himself with one of all these three temptations; according as he thought meet to make chois of som one of each, that might best correspond unto such a conceived person in those circumstances of time and place he either found or put him in. He found him in the desart hungry; and there, *Command that these stones be made bread*, as it was a temptation of *carnal concupiscence* most befitting the time and place; so is it of that kind such a one as might seem least unbefitting such a person, being of all the most innocent, especially to a hungry man. Upon the battlements of a high Church, in the face of a populous city, who might behold and admire at his miraculous preservation and sanctity, *Jacta te deorsum*, *leap down*, was a temptation belonging to *concupiscence of eyes*, in order to vulgar applaus: nor would it appear so manifestly evil to do such a thing in the face of the multitude, who seeing his safety

might look upon him ever after with greater honour and respect, as Lord of the very Angels who stood about to guard him in so dangerous a precipice. In the prospect of the world, *All these things will I give thee*, was a congruous temptation, and clearly pertinent to *pride of life*; but joined with a condition manifestly sinful, (wheras the two former were but such in lesser circumstances, and of them the first in the least) *If thou wilt fall down and worship me*; which Satan annexed here, not so much out of any hopes he could have to bring that person to such a sin, whose constancy he had already tried; as to speak forth and express the ordinary way by which men do generally arrive unto their height of dignities, wealth and honour in this world: they dissemble, they sacrifice their conscience, they bow their heads, they fall down and worship *Satan*, and so take from him their livery and seisin, their *hæc omnia tibi dabo*.

What heats are raised about these things in the world betwixt man and man, in city and countrey, so thick, so general in all places, to set down with pen and ink it is impossible they be so many, and also superfluous they be so obvious. And from whence are all these wars intestin and forreign, domestick and civil, personal and national, be they not from our *concupiscence*? it is not to be denied. And so long as ther is

concupiscence

concupiscentiae in the world, these things will be, or at least a motion towards them. Nor is it my present purpos to dissuade any thing in this kind, after the endeavours of so many thousand sacred persons, apostles, prophets, and doctours, who have both by their example and doctrin endeavoured incessantly the eradication of this sinful weed. But happy is that man in whom the three-fold members of *concupiscence* are become through his care and industry over himself either quite dead, or at least expiring: for he only lives, and lives like a man, and is free.

The other noises (which is the subject and matter of this my present consideration) are the many clashing opinions about God and religion: an empty aiery business, as I think ere long will appear, a ghostly fight, a skirmish of shadowes, or horsemen in the clouds: and yet 'tis prodigious to speak what real heart-burnings, what deadly rancour it breeds in mens minds, and what a deluge of mischief it causes in the world. It is a thing I have often and deeply considered, not without horrour and commiseration.

The result of my thoughts herin is thus much: Surely, there is somthing invisible over man, and stronger and more politick than he, that does this contumely to mankind, that casts in these apples of contention amongst us,

that hiſſes us to war and battle, as waggiſh boyes do dogs in the ſtreet, which being once ſet on tear and devour one another, upon no other caus or motive than that impulſion. For how els could it poſſibly com to paſs, that a company of men altogether unknown to one another, in ſeveral plates, garbs, conſtitutions, employments, ages, and educations, ſhould all of a ſuddain, no man knows how riſe up conſpire and jump together in a conceit before unthought of, and to all other men beſides themſelves improbable, ſo unanimous and vigorouſly, as to put all to a hazard for its defence and propagation, will nor nill the whole world that may diſlike it, with ſuch heat of earneſtnes as is never ſeen to appear in any known good thing. Can this be any thing els, than an impreſſion made upon us by ſom invifible ſubſtance or *dæmon*, that by this aiery phantoſme inflames us one againſt another unto our utter worrying and devouring, unto whom our deadly feuds ariſing theron, may haply give no leſs content and ſport than dogs fighting in the ſtreets to wanton boys that ſet them on. This we may ſuſpect at leaſt; and if we do, methinks it ſhould make our pens and weapons drawn for the maintenance of our fanſy fall out of our unwary hands. And is it otherwayes poſſible, that any faction in the world ſhould not have the capacity to think, that as they

judg

judg and condemn all the world beſides themſelvs, ſo alſo by all the reſt of the world are they themſelvs judged: and can they not ſee it as ridiculous in themſelvs to judg, as in another whoſe judgment they contemn, and as eaſily ſuſpect themſelvs, as they do cenſoriouſly diſeſteem their neighbour, whom they cannot but acknowledg to be in other things their equalls, their elders oftentimes in age, ſuperiour haply in naturall parts, more eminent in birth and breeding, equally ſubjects of our common creatour, and haply in all civil reſpects their betters. Is not this prodigious? and unto what can it rationally be attributed, but ſome maligne ſubſtance inviſible, that makes a fool of mankind? Are not men blaſted? Are they not inchanted? I ſhould think nothing els can be ſaid for it: and therfore they run and fling, and turn up tail, and ſnuff the wind, and hoof-beat the earth, and bellow to battle, as if they were ſtung with gad flies. But let us uſe moderation, God dwells not in a whirlwind. If every one would but once begin to ſuſpect himſelf as in all prudence he may, the buſineſs were half ended, and a right underſtanding very forwardly on.

§. 3.

Nullity of title.

FOr the things of this world why men ſhould contend ſo much, the reaſon is enough appa-

apparent: we live, and our being is ſupported by them. Nor is it an eaſie thing, eſpecially if men do not apply themſelves unto very ſerious conſideration, to diſtinguiſh between things neceſſary and ſuperfluous, or to know when we have enough; the ignorance wherof urges us to many very both unneceſſary troubles and ſolicitudes within our ſelves, and illegall contentions with our neighbours, to the breach of charity and peace. And ther is hardly a man paſt tutelage but knowes whence theſe heats ariſe both in himſelf and other men.

But that we ſhould ſtruggle ſo much about opinions, even unto blood and utter ruin ſometimes of whole Kingdoms, except it be don in order to the things of this world, wherin we labour by ſuch means for a greater ſhare than otherwis would happen to us, or that the wicked fiend is in it, no ſatisfactory reaſon in the world can be given.

For tell me, I pray you Sir that ſtruggle ſo much and ſo earneſtly for the propagation of your opinion; What good is it that I ſhould think as you do? Is it for your own intereſt, or for mine? If your own, I am not bound to ſerv your fanſy, or inſlave my underſtanding to your pleaſur; if for mine, I thank you for your good will, but refuſe your ſervice. Although you may have a thought concerning God or natur, perhaps better than mine, (if I have

have any) or worth my hearing, if I have none; yet can you not rationally think either that you are bound in justice to communicate it unto me, or I to embrace it? Ther is nothing but charity to urge you, which is neither obstinate nor seditious; nor doth any law of justice oblige me to accept of your favour if you offer it; sith every one stands as free in himself either to refuse or accept a good turn proffered by another, as that other to present it. Will you ung and force me to be of your opinion, which perhaps I look upon either as of no concerment at all to me or fals? And who made me your vassail? So great a vassail as to command my thoughts, and those too, which are versed not about your self or me, but our common creatour, and his works and providence; which if they be rectified in you by any light to me unknown, enjoy your own happines, I envy it not; leav me to my self as I do you, and do not importunely against the very laws of right reason obtrude a courtesy upon him that likes it not, nor thinks it so. Had you any true charity for me, you would not disturb my peace, which even in your own judgment is one of our greatest goods, for an opinion of yours which you cannot but see to be in my judgment of so little valiew. Let it be what it will, a forced favour is an affront: force but a dog to eat or drink when he has not a list to it,

and

and ſee but how that very poor beaſt will take it.

Are not you and I worms of the earth both of us, and equally ſubject unto that ſours of light which is above? Why then ſhould you go about to perſwade me to take my influence from your body, which is of no leſs opacity than mine own? You are inlightened, you ſay, and have received a truth which I want. Firſt you are aſſured no more than my ſelf that it is a truth; and although you may think you be, one mans word is in this thing I am ſure as good as anothers; and if you have received it, and it be ſuch, can you not be happy alone as well in this as other things, or permit your neighbour to walk as well naked of truth, as clothes or other neceſſaries, which you will never thruſt upon any, although your ſelf never ſo much abound and he want: If I do want your truth, my want if it be any harm, it is mine own not yours. But let it be a truth received, is therfor all the whole cours and order of the Univers changed? Why may not I have that light if any ſuch thing it be, from that general ſuperiour caus whence you received it? it cannot be wrought in me without him, why may it not by him without you as well in me as your ſelf? How are you becom of a ſudden unto me a ſtar of influence, who was the other day a portion of the ſame earth and darkneſs with me?

But

But now you begin to be angry, that I will not admit of the happines you bring me: and are you so indeed? then by your favour your propoſition was made to me not from charity but pride, not unto my good but ſlavery: becaus I am really perhaps above you, ther muſt be a trick invented to bring me under in conceit; and to captivate his underſtanding who is in power and ability your betters: Thus ſhall you get a dignity by the ſhadow of your fanſy, where you could not appear by any demonſtration of reall and apparent worth. But now grown more wroth, you call me *bruit* beaſt, and *dog* and *imp* of darknes: and ſo you break forth out of the cloud you walked in, and the ſheepskin broken, the true face of a wolf is ſeen; you offered to give to me, in hopes I ſhould therupon fall down and worſhip; upon my refuſall you claw me with your curſes, a ſign that your propoſall was not for my good but your own, to work a glory not in me but over me, and to boaſt your ſelf in my conqueſt. If you had been born my Prince you could not have commanded my thoughts, do you think by commanding them to make your ſelf one? Content your ſelf. Puffing guſts of new fanſies under what pretens ſoever they com (new *reaſon*, new *light* or new *revelation* in any particular perſon) are for their very violence to be ſuſpect-

ſuſpected. When I hear any to cenſur all mankind, and to diſparage all judgments but his own, I begin then to think wors of his than all others; for true knowledg walks not with univerſall contempt. If the way be indeed of God, peace and meeknes will accompany it, at leaſt in the firſt teacher. God reſides not in tempeſts, nor does even he himſelf force mans will. The very Goſpel and volum of our Chriſtianity was not thruſt upon us, but gently put into our hands upon our own good liking, by perſwaſion of miracles and words of peace. I ſuppoſe we are ſevered you and I as well in ſoul as body; nor is my ſoul any more than body any part of you; how comes it then, that being ſo carles of my body which you do ſee, you are ſo zealous of my ſoul you ſee not? You are no more to anſwer for me herafter in another life, than you eat and drink for me in this; nor partake there more than here either of my weal or woe. But your charity urges you forſooth for my future good, and how coms it then ſo dead and fenceles of my preſent. Ther be many waies of help you might afford me in this life, in order to my welfar in it; if you heed me not in all theſe diſtreſſes which you ſee and I feel, what eſteem can I have of your pretended wellwiſhes in a ſtate imaginary abroad? For charity if it be true begins at home.

I have reason to think that God is as good to me as he is to you, and will afford me as many helps of light and reason as another: if not, he hath left me at least in my own power to choos my guide, which shall be such a one as I shall judg aforehand to be wiser than my self. All vassallage is against natur; and when any man enters upon it on his own accord, it is upon some hopes of a foredeemed greater good than without it he could have had; but it cannot be so thought without an imagined precedency in the guide we fix upon. Now ther is no captivity more eminent than that of the understanding; which therfor is of all others to be most spontaneous and rational, and without either temerity or force: but it is rashnes in me and not reason, to trust my self to the conduct of a man I know to be as ignorant as my self, and destitute of all autority over me in those affaires, without either conviction of reason, or motive of miracle; and for him to rais any mutiny against me, thereby to compell to the obeysance of his thoughts whom he hath no reasons to perswade, is a force too too bruitish, and contrary to all lawes both of God and reason.

I may indeed if I pleas submit to your direction: but can I do this in reallity and earnest, unles beforehand I conceiv more of wisdom to be resident in you, than I find to be in my

my ſelf? Can any Pilgrim yield up himſelf to the guidance of a perſon he has no reaſon to think more skilfull in the waies than himſelf is; and if upon his refuſall to follow, that perſon ſhould offer violence, and either drag him by force into the way himſelf ſhowes, or offer to cut his throat for refuſall; would you eſteem ſuch a directour to be the Pilgrims friend or a thief and robber. Becaus you cannot maiſter my thoughts and make me a vaſſail to your conceits, which I am ſo far from judging rational, that I cannot but think them both impious and ſenceles; you will therfore take upon you to maiſter my eſtate and life: and perhaps only to effect this you pretend the other: what is this but robbery and murder commenced upon a pretens of charity? Ther be ſom theeves in the world that will not aſſault a traveller, till they have offered him as a preparative to their convenience, the ſight of ſom curioſity to ſtand and demurr upon: I heard once of an honeſt traveller who in this manner gave thiry pieces of gold for a hare offered him in his journey by a ſeeming countrey man to buy for his ſupper; chooſing rather againſt his judgment to make ſuch a market than to dye for his obſtinacy; but is this a good and commendable violence? Shall we prais theſe actions or do like to them? God forbid.

You look upon me as an accurſed thing with-

out

out the beleef and light you walk by: And why so? What if I think the like of you, for that very fals light and beleef you boast of? If I do it not, learn vertue of me, that so you may the sooner perswade me to com to you for knowledg And how coms it to pass you do so look upon me? Are you a Christian? So am I. Have you meditated seriously upon the promises of the Gospel, and hopes of a future resurrection? I have done so too: have you lived justly soberly and piously in this world, expecting our blessed hopes in the comming of our Lord Jesus in glory? I do the same: and if I may speak one word *secundum insipientiam* perhaps more, in mortification more frequent, more abounding in charity, more constant in the integrity of all my dealings, more chast and sober, less intangled in this present world, or any affections thereof, more affected to my maker and redeemer, and I am perswaded, that God doth inhabit and dwell within me. Why then do you trouble me? he was of another spirit who said, *Si quis aliter sentit, Deus ipsi & hoc revelabit:* He that never judged amiss in points of Religion had so much meekness in him, as to conceit if any one in this or that particular thought otherwis than himself, that God either had or would reveal it him, and so abstained from censuring; whereas you condemn all men that think not as you do,

who for aught I know think aright of nothing.

The very true beleef and right judgment of things, whence is it, or how come we by it? If it be mans own operation, you cannot tell but that I have it. If it be Gods work, you cannot blame me if I have it not; his gifts are free and dispensed as himself pleases: Am I in fault or do I deserv to be vext and harrassed by my neighbour, becaus the Kings majesty hath not given me a chain of gold? Whether he hath promised it or no, I am sure the performance is only in his hand, and my duty being don I cannot in justice be either checkt or beaten for default of the donary, which is to com only from above; and if my King or God detain it, it is a vertue in me to be resigned, and think he hath a reason for it altho I know it not; and that I have it not, may be indeed my misery, but not my fault.

St. *Paul* having severely chid the people of *Corinth* in his first Letter he wrote to them for their many disorders, and some such like dissentions (though in a far inferiour degree) as ours in *England* be, and their great obstinacy and feuds therupon, with variety of pious rhetorick upon every subject they so contentiously disagreed in, insinuated at last; that whatsoever they might pretend for those their various Schismes, from the power and Spirit of God, (even as we here do) yet God was not indeed

and

and really amongst them at all; *for God*, saith he, *is not the God of dissention but of peace*; and then he addes a great Oracle, which he left behinde him for after ages, to stop all dissentious feuds that might ever arise in any people about the preheminence of doctrin in Christianity, wherin each one may pretend to be chiefest guide. *An à vobis*, saith he, *verbum Dei processit, an in vos solos pervenit?* Did the word of God proceed from you, or unto you only did it com? as if he should have said, you have no reason, you people of *Corinth*, to stand so much upon your opinions in matters of religion, or to contest so hotly about them to your mutuall disparagements and breach of peace, sith the Gospel and word of God neither came forth from any of you, nor yet did it com only to you, that any of you should therby (and otherwis it could not be) presume to be teacher of the rest in opinions and waies they cannot in their reason approve of, unles they should prefer your autority before it. Here then is prescribed a most oraculous rule, both to know whence the right Christian truth is to be deduced in any matter of doubt, and whose conduct is to be rejected, whatever light or knowledg any one may pretend by way of priviledg, for the obtaining over other men the preheminence of a guide or leader. That man or those people who can rightly challenge a power of leading other

men in a way of religion muſt be ſuch and only ſuch, as either the word of God came from, or unto whom alone the word of God came. And it muſt needs in reaſon be ſo; for who ſhould teach us in any ſcience, or reſolv any doubts ariſing in it, but the maiſter who firſt ſhewed it (if any ſuch can be found) or which at firſt profeſſed it: I ask then all theſe our religious duellists, both *Anabaptiſt* and *Quaker*, *Preſbyterian* and *Proteſtant*: Did the word of God *com from* you, or came it *unto you* alone? and unto which of you did it firſt com, that we may adhere unto that party without diſpute. He *from* whom it came, muſt have the primary guidance over all; and he *unto* whom it firſt came, muſt carry a ſecondary preſidentſhip over all ſuch as be derived from him; but which of you is it that can pretend to either. That it came not alone to either our *Puritan* or *Proteſtant* is evidently apparent: ſith by the teſtimony of the Apoſtle it went forth unto all the ends of the earth: and indeed our own experience and knowledg of ſeveral Kingdoms that be Chriſtian would ſufficiently witnes that without any teſtimony at all: and that it came not forth *from* either of them is as manifeſt as the other; ſith the word and Goſpel of Chriſt was in the world many ages before any of thoſe wayes were extant: and the *Puritan* with all their factions found that word here in *England* in the hands

hands of the *Proteſtant*, and the *Proteſtant* it is well enough known wreſted it from the *Roman Catholick*, who had lived in it a thouſand years before any *Proteſtant* was known or heard of in the Land: and the *Catholick* received it from his *Papal* Paſtour or Biſhop, the *Brittain* from Pope *Elutherius*, the *Saxon* from Pope *Gregory* the Great, as all hiſtories witneſs. Let us take heed then, we incurr not the cenſur of mad men, for pretending with ſo many furious quarrells both by tongue and pen and ſword a precedency in religion one over another, where according to this great oracle of St. *Paul* it is manifeſt that none of us can have any; nay by this rule we cannot have ſo much as truth amongſt us, any further than we are conformable unto him *from* whom the word of God came, or to them *unto* whom it firſt came: and if we make a ſtrict examin, we ſhall find that they *unto whom* the goſpel in this nation firſt came, were not either *Proteſtants*, *Presbyterians*, or *Independents*; and He *from whom* it came was one whom all theſe do hate. Where then is truth, and which of theſe duellists hath the precedency in it? I mention not the *Papiſt* or *Roman Catholick* amongſt the reſt; both becaus he raiſes no troubles but is on the ſuffering ſide, oppugned by all opiniasters of what ever kind they be, and defamed and vexed by them all, who notwithſtanding

upon the ſame account of religion defame and vex one another, unto the daily diſquiet and overthrow of our Kingdom: as alſo becaus I beleev he would ſoon anſwer the doubt, and by the teſt of this great oracle carry away the precedency from us all, and we all found to have no more truth in us than we have conformity unto Roman catholicks. Wherefore gentlemen I ſhall never engage my ſelf in any of your feuds, (and I would to God none els would do it) till you anſwer me to this my queſtion, which I make to you all in general, and to each party in particular. *An à vobis verbum Dei proceſſit. an ad vos ſolos pervenit*, did the Goſpel firſt com from you, or only to you: If either, tell me which and on what ſide it is, and I ſhall be on that; if neither, I can be of no ſide to follow it as my guide: for though each party may haply have in it ſome reliques of truth amongſt other fals inventions (and all truths are not utterly aboliſhed on the ſodain) yet can no ſuch party hold forth any doctrin I may ſafely build upon. That Perſon, or that See, or that Congregation from whom the Goſpel came, or thoſe people at leaſt unto whom it firſt came, legaly delivered and not extorted, and totally accepted without diminiſhment, commenſuratively unto his mind who ſent it, theſe are the onely perſons unto whom of divine right precedency ſo much belongs,

longs, as all that will be of Christs mystical body not onely may safely, but must universally follow them. But where this body of men may be, the *Pope* and *Papists* from whom and unto whom alone the Gospel first came, being by us concluded under errour, is so obscure that I for my part having lost them cannot find out whom I may safely adhere unto in the opinions and practises of religion: sith none of us in *England* besides them can according to this great oracle of St. *Paul*, pretend any right to guide his neighbour in those wayes. Wherfor it were good wisdom in my judgment to sheath both our swords and pens, and be at peace, till we can find out a party among us that can make good this canonical title of prehemi-nence; for she that can do it is the onely pure and mother Church, whom all must hear and obey unto: and all other factions that be unconformable unto that holy Church from whom or unto whom first the Gospel came, are little better perhaps then stark naught.

I cannot see then as yet why we should all of us, *Presbyterian*, *Protestant*, and *Independent*, inveigh so furiously either one against another within our selvs, or all of us against the *Papist*; or why upon this account any one should be puft up against his neighbour, or hate and prosecute him as an execrable thing; but that we should rather study mutual comiseration, charity and peace.

§. 4.

Heats and reſolution.

THer have ever been variety of opinions in the world, and conſidering the diverſity of our conſtitution and complexion will ever ſtill be unto the end, ſo long as we be left to our ſelves,

In the ſmall knowledg we have of times paſt, ther is enough to certifie the diviſion of mindes and opinions in all ages and places. But it is to be noted that none of theſe ever ſubmitted to another, nor fell into unity by conviction of any one reaſon above the reſt? and yet doubtles ther was ever ſom ſuch reaſon extant. But they reſted notwithſtanding at length, like boiſterous whirlwinds after ſome ages puffing one againſt another, well broken, tired and decaying for want of further matter: but that which never fails is truth.

Nor do I find that they uſed in former times of old among the Pagans, other weapons offenſiv or defenſiv in the heats of their opinion-wars, but onely pen and ſpeech. Our Chriſtians, thoſe huge eminent profeſſours of humility peace and moderation, are the onely hot-ſpur opiniaſters, and ſurely the ſharpeſt darers and eagereſt fighters for their ſelf-wills and conceits that were ever yet brought upon this worlds

worlds amphitheater. And as they ſhow the greateſt fury, ſo do they exhibite the leaſt reaſon of all controvertiſts upon earth. For, the *ſpirit*, the *light*, the *Lord*, the *word*, and ſuch like motives of a new fanſy, what can theſe things ſignifie between men of the ſame profeſſion, that pretend all to the ſame things; but onely this, that the Papal chair being once removed every one may advance his own ſeat in the place: for all are equally infallible, equally reſolute and unmoveable in their decrees. Nor does any ever heed the invalidity of his motives, nor for the moſt part underſtand when he is confuted even by his own weapons; ſo eager we are and withal impertinent and reſolute.

In truth, opinions and controverſies once raiſed were never yet allayed by reaſon, nor ever can be: for the firſt founder and forger of the novelty being moved thereunto by paſſion and intereſt (as in time it proves evident to the world) put on a reſolv never to yield, whether he held forth a natural or ſupernatural light as a weapon of his warfar; and therfore he will onely be tried by his own weapon, and that too ſhall ſignifie nothing but in his own hand: which is a certain way of victory at leaſt in the eyes of the vulgar, whom he ſeeks to inveigle, and conſequently both of intereſt and glory to himſelf. And let ther be never ſo many opinions, they all overcome.

How

How shall he be confuted that brings with himself (I mean in appearance and his own pretens) the *Lord* or *light*, or *word* or *spirit*, or *tradition* or *reason*, with open defiance to the whole world as utterly devoid of all such helps which himself and he alone enjoys in all abundance? confute him that can. Let truth and wisdom flow like streams from the lips of his opponent, let all sort of rhetorick conspire to his satisfaction; if he do not laugh at it as empty sounds and not the true *word*, as flesh and not *spirit*, as man and not the *Lord*, as darknes and not *light*, as folly and not *reason*, as human inventions and no divine *tradition*, let me lose belief for ever. And what end can ther be made of such new started doubts? or where lies the defect or reason of their indeterminablenes, but only in the pride and obstinacy of the first prophet and his disciples, who indeed are not such if they be not self-willed and self-conceited like himself.

And this may be the reason of that sage advice the Apostle gives to Titus; *Hæreticum hominem post unam et alteram correptionem devita*, &c. An heretical man check him once or twice and then avoid him; for he is utterly subverted and condemned in his own judgment. As if he had said; dispute not with him but check him, if that will do no good avoid him for he is past hopes. But how is such a one *condemned*

ned in his own judgment! and why ſhould we therfor treat no further with him. Namely, becaus he knows aforehand in his own heart, what ever he pretend, that out of malice, pride or other paſſion he holds forth his novelties, and yet means not to yield or be convicted of it, whatſoever ſhall be ſaid againſt him, becaus it would put a lettance to his intereſt and the unlawful ends he aims at, either to be ſubdued or ſeem to be overcom.

If ther were any true reſpect in the world or eſteem of one another; if every man had but that value of his neighbor which he hath of himſelf, (wheras he hath oftentimes reaſon to have more) then would all theſe opinion-feuds either not kindle at all, or be ſoon extinguiſhed. For although it could hardly be prevented conſidering human conſtitutions, but that odde thoughts and various whimſies would riſe in the minds of men that are left to themſelvs; yet ſo long as they remained inward without iſſuing forth to life, or as a ſtill-born child never to walk abroad, all would be well enough betwixt neighbours, and charity inviolate amongſt them. It were a moſt happy thing, if the fanatick wombs, and brains of mortals would thus miſcarry in the child birth, and their conceit com forth ſtill-born: and ſo indeed it would, did not ſelf-opinion midwife it into the world and preſerv its life.

But

But as ſoon as the *mind* has once conceived of her *Incubus*, ſhe ſwells preſently with pride, that every vein ſtretches, and labours hugely to bring forth; the featous babe when it is once out, does ſo mightily pleas the dam, that it is carried from city to city to be ſhown; and ſee the wonder, within a ſmall ſpace we have thouſands of that opinion all ready preſt to undergo a martyrdom for the imp; ſo prone is mankind to deluſion. But in the true hous and manſion of *Jeſus*, who is the right and only ſplendor of divine glory, all this baſtardly brood is ſuffocated, for the moſt part in the conception by the ſpirit of him who reſides there, but generally in the birth by the care of government inſtituted and obſerved in that place: and if the harlot do by her ſubtilty bring forth and expoſe her brat to view ſhe flies for it, and the chattering moon calf, as ſoon as they can catch it up, is ſtifled.

Ith interim there is nothing brought forth ſo deformed, but it is hugged and careſſed as the faireſt of creatures; ſuch ſelf conceit accompanies all theſe natural conceptions: go about to convince it to be the ſeed of ſatan, and dirt will be thrown in your face; this is the ſucceſs and event of all diſputes in religion. No man will ever be confuted, or if really he be, he will not acknowledg it, nor deſert his caus; for to ſeem to be convinced, is to ſuffocate his intereſt and glory with his own hands.

When

When opinions therfore once riſe, ther is ſome reaſon indeed in Power, but no power at all in Reaſon, either to aſſwage or ſtifle them: and if they do multiply, as they are very nimble and volatile, apt to fly and encreas like fire in dry ſtubble before a ſtrong wind, then Power it ſelf is humbled before them as unreaſonable and ſenceles, even as before all Reaſon was eſteemed impotent and weak. If Princes would ſeriouſly lay theſe things to heart, much of evil might be prevented in a Kingdom.

Let any man think within himſelf what he pleaſes, thoughts are free and do harm to none, but haply to the ſpirit of himſelf: but if once having invented a conceit he go about to compel his neighbours to think as he does, otherwiſe to bring upon them vexation and ruin; if he be reſtles till one of theſe be don, and begin to make ſigns thereof, as ſymptoms of an approaching earthquake; then let all men take heed, and he eſpecially that ſits above the reſt, whoſe care it is to look to the ſafety of us all, and all our welfar too is involved in the peace and ſafety of himſelf.

I have often wondered in my ſelf, that ſince all mens opinions are their own ſelf-created paradiſes, wherein they ſolace and pleas themſelvs, why they ſhould not be content to enjoy their pleaſures alone, but are reſtles till they have brought all others in to their garden of delight,

and

and made them taſt of their fruit. It is not uſually ſo in other delightfull pleaſures of this world, wherof all men endeavour to make a monopoly to themſelvs, if they be more ſpecial delights. And yet after ſom ſerious thoughts we may diſcern a reaſon for it upon ſight of the great pride which their own words and geſtures bewray in them. They would be as gods unto men, for whom they create out of nothing ſo pretty a paradiſe of pleaſur: Another would ſay, they rather appear like the ſerpent in the garden, diſcovering more as they pretend of Gods ſecrets, than plain old Adam and Eve ever dreamed of.

Let it be what it will; in this the hieroglyphick is clear: After God hath once ſettled a Church wherin is the tree of life, if any one neglecting the things which ar ordained for his uſe and beneſit begin to diſcover new diſturbing ſecrets not before heard of in the place, let every one then beware; *latet anguis in herba.*

§. 5.

Motives to moderation.

THree things, if they were ſeriouſly conſidered, would methinks much weaken ſelf-conceit of our own judgments which obſtructs all right underſtanding in matters of religion.

Firſt

Firſt is, the great ignorance our ſtate and condition is involved, concerning either God in himſelf, or his works or providence. This is the firſt. And if any anticipate me and ſay, that the ſcripture reveals enough unto us; I anſwer it is true, if men would content themſelvs to uſe it to that purpos it was written, for to guid our feet in the practis of ſolid goodneſs ſobriety and juſtice, upon a hopes of future bliſs promiſed to all ſuch as ſhall be found ſo doing in him that revealed it: for this is both the compendium and end of that holy writ, and it is enough. But if not thinking of this, we uſe it, as now generally we do, to rais and ſtrengthen us in new opinions, for which it was never intended (tho for aught I can ſee it is the greateſt if not the ſole uſe we make of it) then it rather makes our maze greater then leſſens it, and through our abuſe of it puts us beſides thoſe truths and wayes, which otherwiſe we ſhould very conſtant and patiently purſue. Whence are all theſe varieties of opinions now in *England*, and the obſtinacy each one hath in his own, but by the confident abuſe of that ſacred book, out of which we throw texts at one another, as the old —Tectour Oliver uſed in his ſports to caſt carpets and cuſhions about the heads of his play mates, and in his feaſts apple tarts and cuſtards, which were never made for that purpos tho he he was pleaſed ſo to abuſe them

them for his paſtime. Experience hath now taught us clear enough, that the Scriptur is a dangerous edged tool to put into the hands of the rude and boiſterous vulgar. A compendious narration of the ſtory and morallity of it ſo ordered unto ſolid practis, that it were ſuffered to be uſed for nothing els (either for diſputes or jeſting conceits) kept our Engliſh Chriſtian nation for a thouſand years together, ſo long as it was catholick, in all unity and peace, and rendered them fruitful in all good works; wheras the whole and very text now in this laſt age put into vulgar hands, together with a fore-apprehenſion and belief of the unmeritoriouſnes and unprofitablenes of good works in order to eternal life, unto which forſooth faith onely ſuffices, (which is contrary to the very genius and end and purpos of Gods word and them that wrote it) hath filled the land with ſo much wretchleſnes and diviſions.

And who ſhall interpret the ſcriptur to us, to the end it may guide our thoughts without errour? It ſelf? ſo ſom ſay; but then, if we may gueſs at the natur of it by the fruits of the interpretation we have from it, what a Chaos of confuſion would it be thought to be; for ſuch be the contradictory interpretations that are all ſaid to com from it: Shall the Church interpret it? no this is Popiſh: and what Church? thoſe in whoſe hands we found it, or from whoſe

whoſe hands we firſt had it; if the former, they may be as deſtitute of power to interpret as our ſelves; if the other, then muſt we return unto the obedience of the *Roman* church; for all the world knows we received the goſpel firſt from *Rome*. Muſt neither interpret, but only the ſpirit and divine light within our ſelves? This may be it muſt teach us to know all things; but what is the thing ſhall teach us to know it? how ſhall we be aſſured that it is a ſpirit or light divine? If we miſtake here, our pretended light may prove an *ignis fatuus*, and no leſs fooliſh the illumination by it. If we do not know even our own ſoul and ſpirit within us, what it is, how it informs our body, how it works in it all thoſe ſeveral operations of thoughts and corporeal alterations; or whence it comes, or how it is annexed to us while it ſtayes, why it departs, or whither it goes (as it is certain we do not) how can we judg aſſuredly whence ſuch or ſuch a thought ariſes in it, from God above or ſenſual cauſes? tho it never ſo much pretend a divine miſſion and be transfigured into a ſhape angelicall; or that any ſpirit or light within us is truly divine and not phantaſtical. Do not the corporeal ſpirits inflamed by often beating upon an object naturally hammer forth ſuch odde phantoſms in great abundance without either order or meaſur, inveſted all of them in ſuch ſhapes as the artificer forged himſelf

without any other exteriour aid but objective repreſentations, which oftentimes ſo vigorouſly repreſent themſelves that from the objects of thought they ſtand at length in place of the ſubject thinking. If any one will not beleev me, let him but take the pains to make a journey into *Bedlam* here in *London*, *Paris*, and other Cities, and convers but a while with the mad men there, and then he will ſoon finde it true? There he ſhall meet with counteſſes, captains, biſhops, kings, not real as themſelvs imagin, but fantaſtick and whimſical ones; nay ſome one there will pretend to be Chriſt himſelf, another the Holy Ghoſt, a third God the Father of all things; and what not? and the fanſy too is ſo ſtrong and prevalent, that the whip may chance at length to beat it out, but all the reaſoning in the world ſhall not do it.

The ſecond conſideration to promote moderation, and conſequently to make way for a right underſtanding is the ſad precipices men have run themſelvs and others by their headines and temerarious obſtinacy in their opinions and conceits, even to the utter ruin and depopulation of flouriſhing kingdoms, as ancient hiſtories will copiouſly witneſs. And if any ſay, *Alas what do you tell us of thoſe men, they were a ſelf-deluded people*; Does not the world ſay ſo of you? *Oh but we know the contrary.* Juſt ſo ſaid they. *Oh but we cannot be deceived, the truth,*

truth, the word, the Lord himself cannot lye, heaven and earth may fail, these cannot. This was even their very song. *O then if it be so, they were in the right too!* Then you are not, for they were in many things of a contrary opinion to you all of them, and som in all things. *Well, well, God knows his elect.* 'Tis true, but you know them not. *No, not I? why should I not except I be reprobate?* You may be so, walk then in fear. *He that hath the light, must he not needs see it?* If he have it near him he may, so that he be not hoodwinked or blinded with a prejudice: and he may think too he sees it, when he has it not: I have often waked at midnight, and thought my whole chamber enlightened, but by and by perceived it was only the glimpses of some natural luminous spirits, not in the chamber but under my own eye-lids, which was a vanishing and false light, and not at all in the place I took it to be. *You may as well say as much of the apostles and prophets themselves.* I may so, and would do it without any fear at all, if I had no other motives of respect to their words than I have to yours. *Com, com, if the truth be hid, it is hid to them that be lost.* Be it so, yet still the question will be, whether I be lost or you, whether you or all mankind beside.

The third consideration is, the genuin and connaturall excellency of a good Christian

man (whether we follow reaſon or autority in decipheriug it) which conſiſts not in finding new wayes to the reformation of other mens thoughts, but putting in practis the old received well known dictates of ſobriety juſtice and piety in our ſelvs, with ſubmiſſion unto the direction of ſuch as delivered them unto us from that one Lord we all worſhip. *Oh but men have ſwarved from thoſe wayes.* Let them; they ſhall bear their own burden, do not you ſwarv, and it ſhall be well with you: themſelvs and ſuch as were ſet over them (as I know you are not) ſhall render an account for thoſe loſt ſheep, whiles you are ſafe and being innocent have no account to give either for your ſelvs or others. *O but the zeal of the Lords hous doth eat us up.* Good, let not that zeal of yours eat the Lords hous up, and all is well. *Away, away, we cannot abide biſhops and prieſts and copes and ſurplices, they are very beams in our wayes.* It is a ſign of a weak and ill-affected eye, not to be able to look upon any thing. You ſhall not be burdened with the wearing either of the veſtments or titles; and the meer ſeeing ſhould not be me thinks ſo troubleſom. And yet late experience hath made it evident (whatſoever tendernes you may pretend) that you are able to bear upon your ſelvs even that you pretend you cannot look upon at a diſtance: which is an odd kind of riddle.

The

The office of a prieſt and biſhop, (which you ſay is onely to preach) together with his ſtate and means; this you have not onely born very tamely theſe years of our confuſion, but earneſtly thruſt your ſelvs into it. And is it not a ſtrange tendernes to ſweat under a burden which another man bears, and not to be troubled at all when we bear it our ſelvs, nay to thruſt our ſelves into it? their copes diſlike you in the Church, but in your own houſes they make a goodly fine ſhow, and their very ſurplices pleas you well when they are next to your own skin. What it was that the fox fell out with the lovely grapes, it appeared afterward when they were ſeen griped ſo greedily within his teeth; the only caus of his diſlike and vehement invectivs againſt them was (and a ſhrewd one it was) that himſelf could not com at them. *Nay, nay, 'tis the Popery, 'tis that we diſlike.* If the fox could have ſpoke, he would have called thoſe grapes popiſh too; for now adayes all that ſtands in our way, and all that we would undermine, and cannot immediately reach, we cry out upon as popery; which is a ſound ſo inflames the vulgar ears, that they all flock together at that alarm againſt father & mother, Prince and neighbour, Church and ſtate without any further conſideration, to the aſſiſtance of that cunning wag who by that ſo taking a ſtratagem raiſed a publick help for the working of his own deſign.

The Popery you say you dislike: This you may do, without disturbing either your own or other mens peace: ther be a thousand things I dislike every day, as I walk along through *London* streets, which no prudence dictates me to check or seek to rectifie. It is not the custom of a traveller (and we are all pilgrims upon earth) to cut up bushes or lop hedges that hang in their eyes as they pass; but peaceably to go beside them, without further nois, or disquiet; and if any should do otherwise, he would be looked upon as a mad man, and haply run himself into jeopardy. But what if popery prove at length not to be any evil thing at all, but good and pious, how ever represented to us all this while as odious under the bug bear of that name? I know you will startle at this word; but you would not do so, had you my experience. Christ and his Christianity was long ago by such invectivs and ignominious appellations, made as odious in the world, as now it can possibly be under the name of popery: insomuch that of the three, *Epicureans*, *Christians*, and *Atheists*, (which were generally put together, as a triplicity of abomination) the professours of *Christianity* was ever put in the middle as the most impious of all the three, not only in their lives but in their opinions and beleef; and as such they were dealt with throughout all the Roman empire

for

for three hundred years together, whiles that empire was pagan, contemned, pillaged, tortured, as people of the moſt wicked profeſſion the earth ever bore: and all Europ wherein there were even then as many great wiſe heads, and as morally honeſt perſons as ever ther were in the pagan world beleeved it; ſuch power hath a popular vogue once raiſed to the prejudice of any, eſpecially if autority do conſtantly conſpire to their ruin.

It is not my purpos at this time either to oppugne popery or defend it; for in oppugning it I may chance indeed to pleas ſom, in defending it I am ſure to pleas no body; for the *Catholicks* although they know in general that by the name of *papiſt* and *popery* their perſons and profeſſions are aimed at, yet what their adverſary would expreſs by *popery* when he objects it to them, ther is not one *Catholick* in *England* underſtands. If it be an expreſſion of their religion, they have no rule for that but the Goſpel; if of the ſuperſtitions, idolatries, murders, treaſons, adulteries, lyes, pride, gluttonies, generally put upon them under that name, they know no ſuch religion.

And if *popery* ſhould be proved in any part not good, this of epiſcopacy and their decent ornaments may be no part of it that is naught: nay whether it be any part of popery at all, not we (who do not know what *popery* is) but they who

profeſs it, or at leaſt profeſs a religion that is loaded with this name muſt judg: and theſe do not acknowledg our Proteſtant Biſhops or any of their rites (if we mean by *popery* the religion they profeſs) to be any popery at all. *Oh but if it be not popery 'tis at leaſt foppery, and we will have it taken away.* Be it what it will, hav you peace within your ſelf: if it be any invention of man, it will moulder away as mans inventions do; if it be either inſtituted or approved of God, who can reſiſt him? Be firſt aſſured what it is before you attempt to remove it; and when you are reſolved, chooſe to do it, not by tumult but by wayes of peace. This prudent and honeſt method of proceeding in ſuch caſes as theſe is well ſet down by a Scribe or Juſtice of Peace amongſt the *Epheſians* upon occaſion of the like uproar. *Ther was made a loud cry of all the people,* ſaith the ſacred text in the Acts of the Apoſtles, *as it were for two hours together crying out, Great is Diana of the Epheſians,* (and every mans opinion is his Diana) *and when the clerk of the court had appeaſed the uproar, he ſaid, Men of Epheſus, what man is ther amongſt us, that is ignorant that the City of the Epheſians is a worſhipper of great Diana and the off-ſpring of Jove; wheras therfor theſe things cannot be gain-ſaid, it behooves you to be quiet and to do nothing raſhly. Ye have brought hither men neither ſacrilegious*

nor

nor blaſphemers of your gods. But if Demetrius and the artificers with him have aught againſt any one, the courts are open, and proconſuls ready, let them accuſe one another there: if ye would any thing further, in a lawful aſſembly it may be decided; for we are in danger to be called in queſtion for this dayes ſedition, whereas ther is no one man in ſo great a tumult, of whom we can give an account as authour of this concours. Thus ſpake that wiſe pagan, and the counſel is very good in all ſuch caſes, whereof this of ours is one. *Oh but theſe biſhops do captivate mens conſciences, and take away our Chriſtian liberty, they would force us to a belief and liking of their wayes.* Say you ſo? then you may ſhake hands, for you would force them and others to a liking of yours. *But we neither can nor will approve of them.* They neither can nor will aſſent to you. *They have no reaſon but their own pride.* They alledg pride to be all your reaſon. *The Spirit and God that is in us urges us to hate all the works of the devil.* So ſay they, *Ther is no communion with light and darknes. God and Belial:* They ſay ſo too; you will be friends anon. *Bleſſed is he that hates iniquity from his heart.* This is the very ſubject of their ſermons; you are now becom one of their diſciples. *We their diſciples? no, we bow not our head to any horned beaſt.* Very good, they like your reſolution, and will not therfor bow their heads to you.

Second

Second Chapter.

All things are so obscure, that no man in prudence can so far presume of his own knowledg as to set up himself a guide in religion to his neighbour.

§. 6.

Obscurity of God.

OF the three abovenamed considerations, which being well imprinted in our hearts I should deem sufficient to put all our animosities to silence, the two last be rather moral then acroamatick topicks, and therefor to be cast with their fellows into the last paragraff of the book. The first which speaks the great ignorance our present condition is involved, both concerning God and his works and providence, requires a little more explicite discours; and becaus it is a speculation very beneficial not only to the purpos I now aim at, but absolutely in it self, and for several uses of mans life, it shall take up the three or four following paragraffs. And if all these things (and religion can be about nothing els but them) both God nature and providence do prove so obscure, as I find them to be, and I think will to all that ponder the matter well, evidently appear; what is then the knowledg

we

we boaſt of, and of which we are ſo confident, as to preſcribe laws every one of us to the whole land, and to bring all into confuſion about it.

He that ſhall think upon God alone, apart from heaven and earth and every whatever created ſubſtance viſible or inviſible, as in the center of his own all-ſufficient eternity, before either earth or heaven was made, muſt needs be ſwallowed up, and darkened round about, as if he ſtood in the center of a world of waters, and for want of a proper idea to fix on melt away in reverence of that all venerable and ſacred Being, which is an unmeaſurable & boundleſs ocean of wiſdom power and goodneſs in himſelf: And altho he may have much improved himſelf by the frequent ſtudy and meditation of the ſubtil books Chriſtendom hath brought forth; yet ſhall he find himſelf ſo infinite ſhort of any ſatisfying knowledg concerning God, that he muſt conclude himſelf to remain ſtill in the wondring ſide, and to know ſo little that he may well call it nothing. Whenſoever I think of that firſt *Eſſe* we call God, both S. *Thomas* & ſubtil *Scotus* & all writings or conceits of men fail, and fall ſhort, and help me little or nothing, no nor any ſcripture whatſoever: they ſeem all to ſpeak ſomthing about God, nothing of him, indeed they cannot. In this our earth and exile we have no

word

words to expreſs him, no notion to conceiv him as he is in himſelf, no idea to repreſent him; which perhaps is the reaſon moved ſubtil *Scotus* to teach, that our divinity is not ſpeculative but practical, leſt it ſhould be a ſcience that ſignifies nothing; for love of that divine object makes up all.

Our Lord is verily a *hidden* God, ſaith one no leſs piouſly than truly; hidden in himſelf and eſſence, hidden in his works, hidden in his providence, hidden in his own life and being, and hidden too in all his emanations and the egreſſions of eternity. Nor can any created Being in the higheſt pitch of all poſſible excellency naturally approach that unacceſſible preſence in his ſtate of pilgrimage and mutability. The diſcovery of himſelf unto them is their bliſs; it is their condition ſupernatural and felicity of glory.

What then can poor man a worm and duſt, in this his ſtate of ſin corruption and darknes preſume to know of *Him*, whom no inviſible creatur or the higheſt angel can pry into even in the higheſt excellency of his ſpiritual condition, out of his ſtate of immutability and beatitude. No man can ſee God and live, and no angel can ſee God and dye: for the viſion is inconſiſtent either with our mortality or their ſtate of probation; we muſt be elevated above our mortal life, they exalted from their condi-

tion

tion of mutability by that vision once imparted. God is an abyss of beatitude reserved onely for the infinity of bliss in the state of eternity, where new ravishing wonders and extasies and joyes shall spring up from him without end, to the daily fresh beatifying of all those spirits that shall be thought worthy of that glorious never failing day.

Nor is ther any way left for man to reach this infinite abyss but by affection. The will of man is far longer winged than his understanding, and love will find access where knowledg cannot approach. For tho it be true that an unknown thing cannot be loved, yet may a man love more of a thing than he knows, and fasten his affection upon that thing in particular; wherof he hath but a general and confused apprehension: Thus I may love a mans person whom I never saw and consequenly know not, by a report of his goodness or sight of his hand writing, which love will embrace the person himself tho it be guided by no more knowledg then that of his words or gestnre or written conceptions: so God represented unto us under the general and metaphysical notions of an infinite substantial Ocean of goodness wisdom and power, from whom do all things flow, by whom they subsist, and in whom finally they end; the first cause eternal immense omnipotent; the best and greatest, creatour and con-

conſerve of all that is or can be; ſubſtantial wiſdom and ſanctity; immutable, hater of iniquity and lover of good; the beginning and end of things; eſſential truth and light and life, the very being of all beings; the ſolace of all ſpirits, and ſole beatifying bliſs, and the like; tho this and much more ſaid of him as notions adjacent and metaphyſicall properties of that eternal and ineffable eſſence ſuffice us for our knowledg of him in this world, yet is all the while that great eſſence from whence theſe properties flow unexpreſt and utterly hid, and God ſtill in his particular and ſpecifick entity an unknown God to us: and yet notwithſtanding God or that unknown eſſence is ſupereminently eſtimated adored and loved even in his very individual being, by that ſpirit who will think of him and love him as he ought, even in this very ſtate of our exile, corruption and darknes. So far extended, ſo ingenious and quick is love, that a very ſmall ſparkling of knowledg if it do but ſhow her afar off onely the outward frontiſpiece and battlements where the Beloved dwells, will enough ſuffice her for a guide to throw her ſelf into his boſom.

This great God and immens ſpring of life and being, if he be compared to the univers and whole creation conſiſting both of the millions of inviſible ſpirits and the great machin of this viſible world, he will be found as the onely ſub-

ſubſtance, and all things beſides him a thinne ſhadow; he ſolid entity, and the great univers in compariſon of him but a meer ſhow, far more differing than the body of a hous or tree, and the ſhadow therof in the Snn: and therfor high contemplativs have called the world a vanity, a lye, a ſhadow, a non entity; and ſo indeed it is, compared with God wherin all being is ſubſiſtent in its ſubſtantial primogenial perfection: It muſt needs be ſo. Wherby we may ſee, how deeply the ſenſual and carnall men of this world are deceived in their judgments; whilſt they look upon this world and the things of this world, eſpecially that part of it they uſe for their pleaſur and delight, as things of true real and ſolid ſubſtance, but God the authour of all as an aiery flying fanſy, taking the ſubſtance for the ſhadow and the ſhadow for the ſubſtance: ſo groſly do we delude our ſelves in our conceits of God, and for his good deeds towards us diſhonour him in requital. But the inveiglement of pleaſurs brings us below our manhood, and makes us think like beaſts.

The obſcurity of this moſt high God and his unacceſſible light (not to uſe any further argument than what is vulgar and before our eyes) will be made more than manifeſt, if we do but caſt our eyes upon the ſons of men round about this globe of Earth our ſelves inhabit; and their various

various both inquests after him and conceptions of him. If men could do this one thing exactly, all further pains of implanting in us true humility instead of pride, amazement in place of arrogance, fear in the room of presumption, self denial in exchange of that prodigious self-confidence that abounds and rules in us, might soon ceas. Who is he that dare presume in any way of his own invention when he considers (as very true it is) all mankind so many several wayes in all ages groping after a Deity like so many blind men in a vast plain, by the help not of eyes (for who can discover or see him) but of that pittiful reed of weak imagination. And are not all these equally his creatures? do they not equally show their love in seeking after him? have they not at their birth equal right to his favour, which before they were born they could no wayes demerit. And how then can infinite goodnes so neglect, infinite wisdom so far unheed, infinite power so desert this poor wretched worm, that very fain would love him, would be very glad to find him, would think it a happines to serv him, and for this end seeks after him so incessantly, so variously, and by reason that he is a *hidden* God, so fruitlesly as he does. In this perplexity remains mankind, till ther appear a prophet or teacher to each nation who may direct and lead them. But when this happens, how much

is

is poor man the nearer? Ther be haply as many ſeveral prophets as ther be nations upon earth (for though two or three nations may follow one, yet ſom one nation hath two or three) and all theſe equally pretend to be divine, tho their laws and rules and religiousrites be not only divers but oftimes oppoſite. What can we think when we contemplate this? where is truth, and how ſhall we have it (ſith we cannot find it out our ſelves) if not from the hands of ſuch as pretend to com from God? And yet they cannot all be true: which then is fals, and who is true? is ther any way in nature to know it? for all eſtabliſh their own way and honour by all inventions poſſible within their reach; ſomtimes by miracles (which their own diſciples believ tho others deride them) oftentimes by viſions and prophecies, generally by a ſhow of ſanctity, with a concours of threats and promiſes both preſent and future to the violatours and obſervers of their law. And therfor if any be true, as it is but a ſurmiſe to think it, ſo is it a meer chance to hit it; which is generally don by birth, or caſual circumſtance of perſwaſion. Beſides a religion once eſtabliſhed be it true or fals (when it is once received it is then taken for true) in the ſpace of ſome ſucceeding ages is reformed anew by other teachers or interpreters, who in time lead men out of the former way into their own; ſomtimes

ſlowly, gradually and inſenſibly; that they are brought into another religion before they be aware; ſomtimes by open hoſtility to the former, which whether by covin or violence yields at laſt to the ingres of a new one.

This is the right caſe and buſines concerning religion in the world: people ſtill being vehemently bent upon that they faſten upon, tho haply it be quite oppoſite to the former, wherin both themſelvs and forefathers lived. Such is the miſerable inſtability of mankind; which is a ſign, that God and his truth, (how confident ſoever men may be) is ever hidden and inevident; for men do not uſe to depart from evidence: let Philoſophers diſpute never ſo ſubtilly to prove ſnow is black, they will get no followers; a contrary evidence detains even them that cannot tell how to anſwer their arguments from a ſubmiſſion unreaſonable. Nor is ther all this while any one ſect upon earth, but condemns all other wayes beſides his own, which he no leſs admires than he diſeſteems them; yea ſeparating from a former religion to another either in all things oppoſite or a part onely, men are apt to inveigh as bitterly againſt that now, as then they did againſt this, and with equal confidence of truth in both places. Where then is truth, and who ſees it? Is not God indeed hidden? does he appear at all to any? For although all ſay they ſee him and his truth

truth with their eyes, it is evident enough by the mutations both perſonal and national that be made in the world, ther is no ſuch matter (from God and from truth no man does willingly depart) as alſo by the oppoſite profeſſions of it with ſuch equal confidence, that it is not in the power of any man to ſay of himſelf aſſuredly where it is. *Archimed* had an opinion that he could move the whole earth, had he but a place out of the earth to ſet his foot on: and ſo muſt he who ſhall judg of this controverſie ſtand in ſome place apart, where he may overſee all, not intereſted in any; in a word he muſt be out of the earth. Nor is the Atheiſt a fit judg, although he may bear himſelf for one; for as none can judg of men but he that owns ſuch a thing as humanity, ſo neither can he give any plauſible judgment of religions who acknowledges none. Nor yet is it an eaſy thing to pluck up the general connatural ſeeds of religion implanted in mans ſpirit, and ſprouting forth rather into the profeſſion of a fals religion than none.

Who dare then preſume of his knowledg, and what motives has he in himſelf to do ſo, which another wants? Be it ſcriptures, propheſies, viſions, light, or inward aſſurance; boaſt of what you pleas, all the earth will do the like, and with the ſelf-ſame confidence. For let Philoſophers ſpeak what they pleas of the certainty

of object which som men have over and above the certainty of subject, I am not able to conceiv how an objectiv certainty can stand without evidence, or how it may consist with that mutability I see to be in the world; for men do depart as well from a good religion (wherin they would have to be certainty of object) as from a bad one wherin they allow only a certainty of subject, which is nothing but a personal self-willed resolution in their wayes.

Since men therfor do thus abound all of them in their own sens, haply without sence (if a thousand voices may be of force against one single one) how does it behoove us, if we would be truly wise, to walk all our dayes not in disputes and disquietness without end, but in humility and fear. But som will say, all this is nothing to us, since Christ our Lord hath revealed to us both God himself and all necessary truths concerning him, of all which we may be confident. But stay a while and ponder what I have already spoken: do not all nations say as much for themselvs. *What then! should we doubt of our faith in Christ?* no, in no wise. But I must speak a bold word: these very dissentions of ours about that faith in its branches so hot, so various, so extravagant, are apt to infer a suspicion of it in its very root: are not hundreds in our own countrey become atheists already upon that very motiv? and these men sup-

ſuppoſing ſubſtantial change once made in religion and deliberately admitted are rather to be commended for their wit than blamed: for they do but that ſodainly, which all the land will com to by degrees. If the *Papiſt* or Roman Catholick who firſt brought the news of Chriſt and his Chriſtianity into the land, as all men muſt needs know that have either heard or read of Chriſtianities ingreſs into England or other Countreys and Kingdoms (for we do no ſooner hear news of Chriſtianity than Popery, and its crucifixes, monaſteries, reliques, ſacrifice, and the like) I ſay if the *Papiſt* be now becom ſo odious as we ſee he is, and if the faith he brought and maintained a thouſand years together, be now rent all aſunder by ſects and factions which bandy all to the ruin of that mother religion; if all her practical truths wherein chiefeſt piety conſiſts be already aboliſhed as erroneous; does not this juſtify the pagan whom this Catholick Chriſtian diſplaced to make way for his own law? And muſt not this be a certain way and means to introduce atheiſm, which naturally follows that faith once removed even as a carkas ſucceeds a living body once deceaſed? for one truth denied is a fair way to queſtion another, which came by the ſame hand, and this a third, till the very autority of the firſt revealer be at ſtake, which can no more defend himſelf than he can his law;

for the ſame axe and inſtrument that cut down the branches can cut up the root too; and if his reverence for which all the reſt was beleeved defend not their truth, it muſt needs at length utterly fail in his own. For all the autority they had was purely from him, and he fails in them before he falls in himſelf. No man can deny this that ſhall ſeriouſly lay his hand upon his heart, and ponder things as he ought. And he that once ceaſes to beleev in Chriſt whom before he worſhipped, I am ſure he will turn atheiſt if his wit and reaſon proceed conſequently, and beleev nothing.

A little more to ſpecify my meaning: If the inſtitutions of monaſteries to the prais and ſervice of God day and night, be thought as it hath been now theſe many years a ſuperſtitious folly; if Chriſtian Prieſts and ſacrifices be things of high idolatry; if the ſeven ſacraments be deemed vain moſt of them; if it ſuffice to ſalvation only to beleev, what ever life we lead; if ther be no value or merit in good works; if Gods laws be impoſſible to be kept; if Chriſt be not our law maker and directour of doing well, as well as redeemer from ill; if ther be no ſacramental tribunal for our reconciliation ordained for us by Chriſt upon earth; if the real body of our Lord be not bequeathed unto his Spous in his laſt will and teſtament; if there be not under Chriſt a general head of the Church

Church who is chief Prieſt and Paſtour of all Chriſtians upon earth under God, whoſe Vicegerent he is in ſpiritual affairs; all which things are now held forth by us, manifeſtly againſt the doctrin of the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity in this land: Then ſay I paganiſme was unjuſtly diſplaced by theſe doctrins, and atheiſm muſt needs ſucceed; for if Chriſt deceived us upon whom ſhall we rely; and if they that brought us the firſt news of Chriſt, brought along with it ſo many grand lyes, why may not the very ſtory of Chriſt himſelf be thought a Romance? And *erunt noviſſima pejora prioribus*, the latter condition of this land under atheiſm (catholick faith once utterly extirpated) muſt needs be far wors than it was in Paganiſm before it was planted. Far ſweeter is that body, put caſe a ſtatue of ſtone that was never animated, than is any carkas of man after the ſoul is departed.

And are not we in a wood now? who ſhall lead us out? The maze is made greater by the conſideration of the multitude of ſects now reigning amongſt us: all which as they do unanimouſly conſpire againſt that Catholick Church they have deſerted; ſo do they wrangle now about every thing wherein they firſt agreed and conſpired againſt her, hating and execrating one another even unto war and bloodſhed, and the utter deſolation of our diſtreſſed nation. *Quid eſt veritas*, and on whoſe ſide is God all

this while? does he not lie hid, and say nothing, and leav us wholly to our selves by a judgment unsearchable in these our affairs, even as in other courses of this world: Ith interim all opinions utter fine words, all presume of themselvs, all are peremptory, and censur not only their neighbours but even the whole earth round about. Where is truth? *here* saith one; nay not there, but *here* quoth another; neither there nor there, but *here* saith a third: but so many *heres* and *theres* sounds nothing to a rational man but either every where or no where; and which to conclude, is impossible for man of himself stedfastly to resolv. *Here is Christ and there is Christ* in the judgement of Christ himself signifies neither here nor there. *If they say, saith our Lord, here is Christ or there is Christ, do not ye go forth or follow them:* and the reason is very good, for the true Church wherein Christ really resides, is ever in a posture of quietnes defens and peace. But they that go out of her and set up new wayes of their own are ever in clamour and dissention, which of them should do it best; and the cry is heard aloud and without ceas, *Here, Here.* Christ is here saith the *Protestant*, and not amongst the *Papists*; whom we have deserted and renounced: say you so, quoth the *Presbyterian*; by your favour, he is *Here*: nay then says the *Anabaptist*; *Here* he is: if you be at that, quoth

the

the *Quaker*, you are all blinded men, if any would finde the true light come to us; for *here* it is and no where but *here*. But when all is done, truth is not in diviſion but unity, not in ſedition and clamour but meeknes and peace. If ten men ſtand gazing in a ſtreet, and agree all that they ſee a thing there, but diſagree in the deſcription of it, a ſtranger coming by will rather gueſs they are mad, than that they ſee any thing at all. One thing I am ſure of; if all men would be humble minded and ſober, and caſt out of their hearts the great prejudice they have taken up againſt one another, they would ſee the better for it.

To conclude this ſubject (for I would ſay no more than what may help to lop the vain and ſuperfluous excreſcencies of faction and diſſentions about religion which perhaps none of us do rightly underſtand, and would be loth to cut the tree it ſelf to the quick) it may appear ſufficiently by what I have ſaid, and yet far more if we joyn our own experimental knowledg and ratiocination of further things which I do purpoſely omit, that God is in himſelf an unſearchable abyſs; and his eſſence and counſels paſt finding out; nay he is the great primo-genial and father-abyſs of all others not to be approached by angels or men, but according to ſuch few general conceptions himſelf hath either revealed or imprinted in them, which be

far

far from reaching home either to his counsels or proper essence. And who hath been his mate or counsellour that he should tell us news of him never heard before. If any news there be of him, it is surely to be had from Christ, whom we beleev to be his very substantial word and the splendour of his glory; and if Christ hath left any secrets of him to be revealed unto mankinde, we must have them from his Church, which is the pillar and foundation and treasury of all his truth; and if any Church is to be consulted, I should think it should be that, and only that which by an uninterrupted succession hath descended from himself, which is that very same that first brought Christian religion into this land, which without all controversy is the Catholick, now by contempt surnamed *Papist*; and if any one be otherwise minded, *etiam & hoc Deus ipsi revelabit.* In the mean time let us be peaceable and sober.

§. 7.

Darknes of nature.

THe second abyss is that of Gods works, and the whole creation, which all men that have considered it aright find unfoardable: and if any have not, let him but take a light survay of this wondrous fabrick, and then tell me what he thinks.

When

When we conſider thoſe myriads of intelligencies, angels and ſpirits, and the whole intellectual world, the firſt exteriour iſſue of divine brightnes; we are not then much nearer apprehenſion of any thing in particular than in the firſt abyſs; what they are, either for ſubſtance, or place, or operation, or extent of preſence, or knowledg, or power, or motion, or order, or any thing els in particular.

In the viſible world we begin a little to find our feeling, and know at leaſt where we are: but not much more. Here we ſee a wonderfull face of things, but what els? what is the baſis on which all the frame ſtands, and how is it ſetled upon it in its various and ſtupendious motions? the order of things little or nothing appears; their eſſences altogether unknown; their properties, dependances, and mutual connexion obſcure; their limits and vigour and duration and influences doubtful; their motions uncertain; the mode, method and chain of operation utterly hidden. And wherin then conſiſts the excellency of our ſcience, that we ſhould boaſt our ſelves, and contemn the world? and what are we able to determine of the truth of theſe things without uncertainty and errour.

This our ignorance of nature (as alſo of providence) is ſufficiently inſinuated in that ſolid piece of moral-divinity in ſacred writ commonly called *Job*, from chap. 38. to 42. I will

ſet

ſet down a compendium of it. " Where waſt
" thou, ſaith the *Almighty* there to *Job*, when
" I laid the foundations of the earth, who ſet
" the meaſures of it, and upon what are the
" foundations grounded? Who ſhut the ſeas
" with doors and put barres to it that it ſhould
" proceed no further? Canſt thou command
" the morning and appoint a place to Aurora:
" haſt thou entred into the depths of the ſea,
" or knoweſt the parts of the great deep? Do
" the darkſom doores of death ſtand open to
" thee to go in and out at pleaſur. Where
" dwells light and darknes, and what is the
" breadth of the earth? Diddſt thou know
" either when thou ſhouldſt be born, or what
" is the number of thy dayes? Where be the
" treaſures of ſnow and hail, which is the way
" of rain and thunder, or the parent of ice
" and dew? Canſt thou either join the Plei-
" ades, or diſſipate Arcturus, or caus the
" morning ſtar to riſe? What is the order,
" mode and harmony of heaven, or canſt thou
" ſet down the reaſon of it? Will the cloud
" com or lightning go forth at thy command?
" Who prepares meat for the raven or hungry
" lion, or what is the portion of underſtand-
" ing imprinted in the heart of every man and
" beaſt? When do the wilde goats and hindes
" bring forth, or what reaſon is ther of the
" number of their moneths. Why does the

" wilde

" wilde aſs neglect the nois of the citty, and ſeek
" after the green mountains of his paſture? Will
" the Rhinoceros ſerv thee or plow up the clods
" of thy valleys? Doth the Oſtrich leave her
" eggs in the warm ſand, that thou mighteſt
" heat them in the duſt? How coms the hors
" to neigh, and whence is the ſtrength of his
" back and terrour of his noſtrils? What fea-
" thers the hawk or makes the eagle mount
" and build her neſt in high places; where the
" carkas is there will ſhe be preſent. The proud
" is diſperſt and the arrogant brought to the
" duſt. Great Behemoth hath bones as pipes
" of braſs and griſles as plates of iron. The
" Leviathan will not be drawn out with a
" hook, nor wait upon thee as a ſervant. Out
" of his mouth iſſue lamps of fire and ſmoak
" out of his noſtrils, which way can you tame
" him &c.

And although Doctor *Brown* ſay in his *Vulgar errours*, that the difficulties of nature there propounded will now adayes be eaſily anſwered by every puny ſchollar; yet thoſe words of his be unwary; both becaus the intricacies of the creation are there propounded by no leſs a perſon than almighty God as inſoluble and not to be dived into by man: as alſo becaus the Doctour if he conſider right cannot but know, that he that wer able to give a full ſatiſfactory reaſon from all cauſes even of the ſmal-

ler

ler things in nature as the winde or rain, would be able to tell what weather it would be, or what wind would blow every day in the year in any part of the earth until the worlds end; ſo firm and ſure is the whole frame of nature: But ſuch kind of puny ſchollers the world never yet ſaw. And although man ſees and knows enough in nature, to make him admire and adore the Authour, yet not to contend with him in queſtions and replies about it. The whole world is an immens intangled gordian knot, which the wiſeſt of men could never yet untye, or diſcern the intermingled ſeries of the many voluminous cauſes concatenated therein.

Even the progreſs of a poor plant from its ſeed to its decay, who can declare or conceiv it? ſo many ſeveral ſeeds both of plants and animals, how do they ſhoot forth ſo orderly into their parts and organs, peculiar each one to themſelves? where lyes that celeſtial particle in the little ſeminal origen, which is the ſpring of life and motion in every thing? In the firſt primogenial ſours how is diſtinguiſhed either kind from kind, or part from part in the ſame kind; and which is that part that is to run forth into the head, and which into the armes, and how is it don. I ſee wheat and barley, elm and oak, hors and man to ſhoot up conſtantly each one from their own ſeed, in their own proper and peculiar

culiar mode and method; and perhaps an angel or intelligence may distinctly see the reason in the very seeds, (for a reason is certainly there) but what man can do it? how coms so constant a variety of bulk, parts, odour, and colour unto flowers; ther is a reason it must needs be so, and no otherwis than so; what is it? Be there, put case, a thousand plants upon earth, much mineral and metal within it, huge variety of birds and fish, and beasts about it, what is it we know of all this, from the egge to the apple. If the earths semidiameter be three or four thousand miles, what lies hid in all that vast bosom? Do the seas meet in a center, as well as close in a surface? what preservs this vast globe of earth in its huge entrails that it rot not, and tumble all into putrefied heaps, and we with it? what rivers run hurrying under ground, to and fro crossing one another in several depths of earth, like veins in the great massy body; whence com they, and whither do they go? Pursue the river of Thames to his first original, and tell me how far it creeps under ground before its appearance; and whether it proceed at length from som greater subterraneous channel like a small artery from a vein, and whence that underground channel it self flowes; and if from the ocean, from what part of it, and how, and where; and whether all rivers that appear in our hemisphere fall to us by

som

ſom ſecret paſſage under earth from the ſeas of our antipodes.

How comes the crumbling earth to be made to flow in tenacious liquid ſtreams, ſo rare and yet ſo ſtrangely compact, that water even in a bottle can hardly be crowded nearer. What is the true nature of air, and the etherial limits: The earth and ſun which of them moves about the other? and why within the limits of the zodiaque. What is the order in that camp of glory over our heads? are the ſtars like the ſtones in the ſtreet, without any rank as they ſeem to our eye? and what are they? holes in a ſolid firmament where the glimpſes of glory above dart forth unto the eyes of mortals, or ſolid bodies themſelvs, and all ſuſpended in liquid air as our earth is: and what ſuſtains either our earth or them? What ſhoves them on ſo equally in their cours? do they move daily through all that vaſt expans, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily fly ſo many thouſands of our miles in one hours ſpace as we conceiv; or is that errour ingendered in us by our own motion either upon our own or the worlds axletree? What creatures live there: or be ther in the univers no other corporal intellectual creatur but man in this our earthly ſyſtem, to ſerv contemplate and bleſs that infinite *holy One* who is the conſerver and caus of all things. A man of himſelf might eaſily doubt it: for it makes more to

the

the glory of that great bleſſed *Being*, that he ſhould be enjoyed praiſed and ſerved in worlds innumerable, under innumerable degrees of perfection, by creatures intellectual of ſeveral modes conſtitutions and excellencies, rather than only in this one world of ours, a world of known ignorance and darknes, a world of ſin and malice, that probably may lye under ſom unknown malediction (it knows not his own weal, and as little heeds it when it is known) a world of much naughtines, and ſo far alienated from God and true piety and peace, that *Origen* ſeems not irrationally to conceit it to be a hous of correction for offendours, delivered up for ſom ſpace unto the prince of darknes (not much beſide the fanſy of good S. *Paul* who was as good a philoſopher as divine) to inveigle harraſs and plague us for a ſeaſon.

This book of the creation or volum of Gods works is a noble and moſt excellent Bible, opened to us here on earth altho in part only for our exerciſe, being intellectual indeed but the moſt infantile intellect that can be imagined, opened I ſay to us to look on, as little children upon a primmer, whoſe letters they ſee but know none of them, nor yet their connexion or end; to other more excellent corporeal creatures in the ſtars above (if any be there) for further underſtanding and knowledg, and to incorporeal intelligences for a more abſolute

apprehenſion. But our looking upon the world is not to be meerly ſenſual and exteriour, as a hors or a cow looks up to the ſun, but a ſavory and affectionate ſpeculation (if we will have it a human action) our want of knowledg being ſupplied by love, in admiring that power whoſe works we ſee indeed, but cannot comprehend.

Hence it might not irrationally be believed, although religion were ſilent, that the ſoul of man is ſurely immortal; and that an intellect ſuch as mans is, being admitted by his creatour to a rational ſight of his works (as all know ours is, and the bruits is not) ſhall at length be tranſlated unto ſome better ſtate of more perfect and comprehenſiv knowledg both of his works and providence and eſſence too, which here we cannot attain. For ſo we uſe to put little books into the hands of our infant children, when they can make little more uſe of them then a bruit, to accuſtom them to the outward ſight of that they ſhall afterward in their riper growth more fully underſtand: but we do not the like to young whelps or fawns, altho at their birth they ſeem far more mature then one of our ſlavering babes, becaus the nature of thoſe creaturs will in no ſtate be able to reach the knowledg. Hence I ſay may proceed a ſuſpicion of our ſouls immortality, which is afterward ſtrengthened by religion and

and philoſophy. The beaſts of the field ſee nothing but their food; but man ſees, that is, conſiders and admires all things viſible and inſible: I mean in his human life and operation. For man is ſo ſet in the horizon of eternity and corruption, that he may betake himſelf unto which life he pleaſes either human or beſtial; and it is in his power either to make himſelf a beaſt or angel; this, by ſuperiour and intellectual; that by inferiour and ſenſual propenſions thoughts and operations: but with this difference, that a created angel or intelligence ſhall ſtill have a greater amplitude of intellect by precedency of nature, and exacter clearnes of thought by ſegregation from our groſs matter, but a made angel or the ſpirit of man angelized, may have notwithſtanding through the difficulty of his combat a greater crown of glory and comfort at the feet of his Maker.

§. 8.

Item.

NOt to ſtray from my purpos. The gulf of the creation is indeed but a ſecondary abyſs and nearer to our feeling, but far alſo from our comprehenſion: ſith we neither know the natur of thoſe viſible bodies we behold both above and below us, nor the manner of their firſt riſe when they ſtarted out of their

ancient nothing, nor their dependances one upon another, nor their motions, nor the limit and extent either of the elements and ſtars, or of all the univers together.

For is the world finite! where ends it? in the higheſt ſtars? who can tell if we wer there but that our eye ſhould ſtill diſcover other new glittering ſyſtems at as great a diſtance from us then, as theſe be now; and ſo forward without end. If we imagin an edge or outward rim of the univers, let us conceiv (as it is not impoſſible) that a man were ſet there and preſerved in his being; where ſhould his head be? out of the world, and no where? could he there think or ſpeak or put forth his finger or caſt a ſtone, and all this in nothing, and beyond the whole univers! can an imaginary thing be as capable of real action as naturall place? Is God really there beyond all this univers, or no? if not, then muſt he be limited to the extenſion of his works, and his immenſity as much confined as they; if he be really there as he is here, I cannot ſee but that it is as reall a place as this wherin the world ſtands, namely if we take place not according to the definition of *Ariſtotle, ultimum continentis*, &c. (which deſcription provides well for the placing of a hous or tree, not at all for the univers, which according to that deſcription is no place at all) but according to the true and genuin natur of place,

as

as it is the *immovable baſis* of a body penetrating and penetrated by it; for this is the true reaſon of primary abſolute and eſſential place; whereas *Ariſtotle* deſcribes onely that which is ſecondary, accidental and relative; eſſential place is naturally before any body placed in it, accidental deſcribed by *Ariſtotle* muſt needs be after, being a relation of the containing to the contained body. And laſtly if the world be finite, as mans underſtanding is more prone to think (becaus of the incongruities in reaſon apprehended in a ſuppoſal of infinity not indeed to be graſped by mans intellect) who can ſay where the incongruities be greater? about an infinite ſomething, or an infinite nothing? if the world be finite in its real being, the imaginary or no being muſt be infinite; where alſo, it is as poſſible for Gods unlimited power to place worlds without end, as he hath don this here. Who dare ſay he cannot do it, who can ſay he has not don it? This then is abſolutely uncertain unto us, as we are left to our ſelves and not to be defined by man. Nor do the reaſons produced by Philoſophers againſt the worlds infinity inferre any greater abſurdity, than a finite world inferrs, perhaps leſs: and if thoſe reaſons be well pried into, we ſhall finde that generally thoſe philoſophers endeavouring to ſhow the abſurdities of a real categorematical infinity which we cannot graſp, do

notwithstanding so argue against it as if they had grasped it; which is a great and ordinary fallacy in all their arguments against infinity either of time or magnitude. I intend not here to maintain any thing but onely this, that our reason left to it self can certainly make out nothing.

Those innumerable shining lights we behold in the firmament, there glittering and twinkling without ceas, S. *Austin* doubted if they were not beatified bodies wherin glorified creaturs might have their residence in bliss: and we may doubt it still for aught I know. Were those huge bodies of glory in their several stations and magnitudes made onely for us to sleep by? we can mean no other, when we say so confidently, that all the whole univers was made onely for our use? For our use, I doubt not, som part in one kind, som in another; but to say or think only for our use, the use we now make of it, is in my mind but a weakish fansy. The sun moon and other planets we know som use of; but of the stars in the firmament little or none at all, but onely for our wonderment. What needed so many for our use? why of that divers magnitude, sith candles all of a bignes would have been both more handsom and convenient: why in that uncouth scituation, that the greatest wit can make no more of it, than childrens imaginations of phantastick shapes in the clouds:

clouds: why thouſands ſo obſcure that hardly diſcernable, and likely thouſand others ſeldom or never ſeen by us at all. And what is the uſe we have of them? do they make our ſleeps ſounder, or our dreams more or leſs? do not the beaſts of the field, eſpecially thoſe of prey, make more uſe of them than man, who is commonly going to bed after the ſun, when the wild beaſts go forth to their prey by ſtarlight: and amongſt men the better any one is, the leſs uſe hath he of the ſtars; for the drunkard theef and adulterer do their works generally by night. The greateſt uſe I know we have of thoſe glorious bodies, is to rais us up to a devout contemplation of that inviſible and almighty *Being*, from whence have iſſued ſo many viſible glories of himſelf: for to ſay thoſe firmament ſtars ſerv for the effecting alteration of ſtates and kingdoms, tranſlation of empires, wars and peace, civility and barbariſm, religion, deluges and the like, is a meer ungrounded conjectur; ſith all theſe things might be ſufficiently promoted by the inferiour planets and concours of other cauſes, for aught any one can tell, without any ſtar in the firmament at all: and yet even thoſe uſes are but very ſmall and inconſiderable for ſuch vaſt bodies to be only ordained for, if truly aſſerted. One uſe is certain, to rais us to the meditation of things inviſible, and to lead us up by degrees, (even as themſelvs are

ſeated one above another) like ſo many greeces in the ethereal expans, unto that hidden *Being* who is the caus of all. And this is for us, who have all our neceſſities otherwayes ſupplied, uſe enough; but he that therfor thinks they have no other uſe in themſelvs becaus they ſerv us in this, is but yet in his young thoughts and ſees not beyond his own untutoured imagination.

For conſidering that thoſe glorious bodies ar even in our demonſtrated and uncontrouled reaſon as exceſſively more ſpecious and beautiful, ſo alſo far greater than our whole globe of Earth wherein we live, even twenty-fold ſom of them and upwards, why ſhould all thoſe vaſt capacities be in vain? Why may not we rather think intellectual ſubſtances reſident therin with bodies more and leſs refined, in degrees and modes and faſhions to us altogether unknown, who might chant out the praiſes of the almighty *One*, in meaſures anſwerable to their condition without end? Can this ſeem to any man unreaſonable; ſo the ancient wiſe men among the Pagans, *Democritus*, *Pythagoras*, and ſeveral other great Philoſophers conceived, for the greater honour and glory of the firſt Caus: and ſhall they be more zealous of Gods glory than we; or ſhall we Chriſtians be the onely hidebound Philoſophers in the world not able to conceiv any thing beyond the eye

eye and imagination of a child.

The eminent french Philoſopher *De Cartes* conceited the twinkling ſtars we ſee and innumerable others we diſcover not, to be in their ranks and places, as ſo many ſuns in the firmament, about which move Planets or bodies unto us here altogether inviſible, except we either riſe higher or they deſcend towards us in their motion, warmed and vegetated by their fires as we by our ſun. If it be thus, as well it may, for aught I can know of my ſelf, what a ſtrange conſort of hymnes and praiſes riſe up in the Univers, continually and without ceas as incens in ſeveral keys of muſick unto that great *holy One* who made us all, to ſupply the defects of thoſe ſmall pittiful ſervices we poor worms perform unto him, in this our earthly ſyſtem! This may ſeem far more rational than to think that we groſs corporeal creaturs and ſenſual ſinners, are the only people in the Univers who ſerv the *Almighty*, and that all thoſe eminent bright-ſhining ſyſtems above us, whoſe order, method, properties, bulk and natur is ſo obſcure, ar there ſet and appointed for nothing els but only for our uſe, which we cannot yet ſay what it is; and when we have imagined our utmoſt, is not of the value of any one ſtar in the firmament; or that bodies of their vaſt capacity ſhould be utterly empty and have no creatur at all within them.

I ſhould of my ſelf be ſo far from thinking that the ſtars of the firmament are onely for our uſe; that I ſhould doubt whether the very elements amongſt which we live and breath, earth, aier, and water, and the beaſts minerals and plants contained in them, are onely made to ſerv us, tho chiefly intended for our benefit. The very gradual perfections of natur hath in it ſelf a worth and decency beſeeming the Creatour, tho man had never been. And ther be certainly other creaturs above man, tho to us inviſible who contemplate nature better than man either will or can do. If all had been only aimed for our uſe, would not a leſs ſea have ſerved our turn, and fewer birds beaſts fiſh and plants. What uſe have we of all the great depth of earth under us to the center, or large vaſt æther about us? And if we were ſuch abſolute Lords of the world as we conceiv our ſelvs to be, how is it that nothing at all in natur is at our command? not the ſea, not the aier, not the earth it ſelf, nor any thing upon it or in it, will either com or go, or alter, or ſtop his cours at our pleaſur: which King *Canutus* obſerved well, when ſtanding with his nobles by the Thames ſide, he perceived the tide to ruſh upon him, altho he had commanded it to com no nearer. What kind of vaſſails be theſe inferiour naturs under man, that will obey us in juſt nothing? Beſides, when any one is abſolute maiſter

maister of a hous, wholly destined to his use, surely such a one can go and com into any room therof without controul; but let man walk down either into the bottom of his seas to see his fish there, or into the cellars of his earth amongst the mettals, and tell me if he be not stifled as soon as another creatur: But if he once attempt to mount the upper rooms of his habitation, tho it be but into the first or second region of the air, he shall fail at the very first step: for his ethereal greeces will not bear the gross unweildly bulk of their Lord. So ill is the hous fitted for the maisters constitution from the very top to the bottom. Can we not honour and bless God for the use he hath lent us of all these things which is great and various, but we must by the vanity of our hearts appropriate and monopolise the univers to our selvs, as if it were for no other use at all but ours.

The manifold use and services we have of the stars and elements, beasts, birds, fish and plants, which do all administer unto man in somthing or other, according to the exigence either of his necessities thence to be supplied, or his corporal delight, or mental speculation to be furnished from that great Body, which the divine goodness therfor made before man that in the first instant of his being he should want nothing, ought to make us thankful but not proud.

proud. And ſo the holy Prophet, admiring the excellency and perfection of place that mankind by his creators goodnes hath over other viſible creaturs amongſt whom he livs; and the various uſes he hath of them, doth in one of his ſweet pſalms invite man thereupon to magnifie this his great benefactour, who ſet him in ſo high a place, when he needed not to have put him in any: and if man do ſo he ſhall do well. But he muſt not appropriate more to himſelf than is given, or inſtead of being thankful for the dominion he has received, vainly conceit a dominion he has not.

Ariſtotle fanſied our earth to be the center of the Univers, and the ſtars to be a fift eſſence differing from all the four elements placed in the circumference: but the great wits of the world that lived before him, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Epicure*, were of another mind. And although our Chriſtian *Schoolmen* have now for five or ſix hundred years explicated and defended the principles of their religion even in the way of *Ariſtotle*, by which for a thouſand years it had been oppoſed by the pagan, yet do they not intend to mix his philoſophy with thoſe principles of their faith: nor does the great Chriſtian *Church* therfor canoniſe his philoſophy for truth, becaus ſhe ſuffers her own truths to be declared and explicated by it. If Chriſtianity be true, it

fears

fears no antagonists; but will bear the test of any right philosophy: but yet philosophy that it may be right indeed, must be corrected and ordered by this divine truth, as wel as this explicated in som things by it. And if another Christian philosopher should explicate his faith now afresh, in the way of *Democritus* or *Pythagoras*, as in the first times of the Church it was declared in the way of *Plato*, and in these latter ages by *Aristotle*; so he do it piously and warily, and square not his rule of faith by them, but them by it; I cannot see why it may not commendably be don. But then as he ades use those explications to satisfie a Pythagorean or Epicurean, so must he confidently reject as dissonant to right reason what he finds unapt to square with the received truths of *Jesus Christ*, as we do now deal with *Aristotle*. This if it were done, as Christian religion will be justified, when it is perceived to stand with the right reason of any Philosophy; so likewise when another Philosophy contrary to *Aristotles* is once understood, all the whole univers both for number, weight, and measure, its essences, relations, concatenation, origin, life, and qualities would hang as loose, suspense, and doubtful as if nothing had been ever said of it. *Aristotles* reasons will make *Democritus* and his disciples doubted: and again, the great learning and subtilty of *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, *Epicurus*,

rus, *Empedocles* will as much disable *Aristotle*; and the doubt may be as pregnant among Christians as other men, where the catholick Church interposes not the autority of some received tradition to cast the scales. But whether she do this or no, is not to my purpos now in hand, who intend only to insinuate unto such as multiply opinions about religion both without and against that Church, that even natur it self is vastly obscure and unknown to man who lives in it, and nothing in a manner, but only what enters our senses, can be so certainly known and concluded by any, that he may prudently either swagger or fight for his opinion. And religion and the things of another world must needs be yet more obscure than those of this.

It is observable, that *Christ* and *Moses*, and other holy Apostles and Prophets, when in their discours they touch incidentally upon things of nature, (their chief purpos being ever to teach the way of vertue and true piety) they comply oftentimes to the capacity and judgement of the hearer, what ever it be. So *Christ* our Lord told us, that at the finall day, the stars shall fall from heaven, insinuating by that, amongst his other expressions, the great disturbance of nature then to happen; wherin comets, which the vulgar calls stars, may shoot indeed, but the Philosophers stars cannot fall upon us out of the firmament, except all return

to

to the old Chaos, and one Syſtem mix with another. *Moſes* calls the ſun and moon the two greater lights, and the ſtars of the firmament the leſſer, altho contrary to philoſophicall truth, when he intended only to declare unto people that have vulgarly ſuch conceptions of them, that ſun and moon and all the other ſtars and planets were equally created by that God he revealed. The *Pſalmiſt* under the ſimilitude of an Eagle which renews his youth, expreſſes moral renovation; which he might well do, ſith men had ſo fanſied of the eagle, whether indeed he do ſo or not. The like compliance was uſed by him, who told the people that the ſtars in their ranks fought againſt their enemies, in which phraſe he inſinuated Gods providence in battles, condeſcending to the peoples imagination, who looked upon the ſtars as a pitched field of champions under the Lord of thoſe hoſts of heaven to defend the innocent. Thus leaving us in the ſame imagination about things of nature they found us in, they endeavoured all of them only to chalk us out the right way unto that felicity, wherof the knowledg of theſe and other wonderments of Gods power ſhall be the leaſt part; by ſerving him as we ought from whom have iſſued prodigies we ſhall never know in this life, and who is himſelf the wonder of all wonders onely to be ſeen and known in the other.

Having

Having ſeriouſly peruſed the Schools and learning of the ancient Pagan *Philoſophers*, this I finde, that their diſciples however conceited of their demonſtration and knowledg, did rather beleev than know any thing: and the firſt maiſter invented himſelf (properly ſpeaking) not ſo much a philoſophy as faith. Take *Ariſtotle* and his School on one ſide, *Democritus* and *Epicure* on the other: theſe two ſchools were mainly oppoſite both in their principles and whole body of learning. And yet none that underſtand them well can tell by any ſtrength of nature or force of their arguments, which of them is with truth. According to learned *Democritus* and *Epicure*, all things began in time by a fortuite concours of atomes, which in all eternity filled the immenſity of ſpace: and as theſe made the world, ſo do they by their inceſſant mobility work continually inſenſible alterations, till after long time they fly all aſunder again, and make caſually another world either here again, or in ſom other part of the immens ſpace, haply of another mode and faſhion unto this; ſo that matter upon this account is all and does all. According to *Ariſtotle* the world had no beginning, but partial generations daily, wherin form gives the act and eſſence, and matter is ſo far from being all, that it is but a pure potentiallity and *prope nihil*, almoſt juſt nothing. Theſe were the oppoſite prin-

principles of two differing Philoſophies. But wer they known or evident to either of the maiſters? If they had ſought for an argument to prove them, they had laboured in vain: one therfor conceited that *matter was all things*, the other that *matter was nothing*, &c. and upon this conceit which nothing but the autority of the Maiſter to whom they would adhere, faſtened upon the diſciples, they raiſed a Philoſophy of their own, which being thus founded upon a human faith or fanſy, all their following ratiocinations could never effect that it ſhould be rather called knowledg than fantoſm, or at beſt but beleef and faith.

And this is the reaſon why the ancient Chriſtian *Prieſts* grave and learned men, who had entertained an eſteem of their maiſter abov all mortal men, would never give way that the articles of Chriſtian faith ſhould be tried by the principles either of *Ariſtotelian* or *Epicurean* beleef. And ſince the diſciples of thoſe men would adhere ſo firmly to fals and indemonſtrated principles of human teachers, they thought it much more reaſonable that they ſhould hold conſtantly what they had received from a divine maiſter, and not ſubmit to the teſt of ſuch ungrounded inevident and contradicting principles of men, as much oppoſite one to another, as all perhaps to Chriſtian faith, even Ariſtotles philoſophy as well as the reſt. What more

assured pillars be there in Aristotles school than these. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* 2. *quod incipit esse, desinit esse.* 3. *quæ conveniunt in aliquo tertio, conveniunt inter se.* 4. *accidentis esse est inesse.* 5. *ex duobus entibus in actu non fit unum.* 6. *à privatione ad habitum non datur regressus*, not to mention others. And yet those catholick priests might well suspect that these axioms though they made a flourishing show, would in their full litteral sens carry a meaning contrary to truth and Christian principles; first to the creation, second to the souls immortality, third to the Trinity, fourth to the Eucharist, fifth to the Incarnation, sixth to the Resurrection: and therfor had they just reason to deny to have their faith tried by them.

Some ages after rose our Christian philosophers (whom we commonly call *Schoolmen*) and raised a fine piece of art upon Christian principles defended and made good even in *Aristotles* way. And these, becaus the forenamed and such other *Aristotelian* axioms carried a plausible appearance of truth in the ear, they did accept them indeed, but in a sens of their own; so that they do not in this Christian school make out that sens they did in the others, though they bear the same sound. And it is pretty to see, how one and the same proverb is made in several schools to butteres up wayes that be destructive to one another. God made the

the world in time, ſaith the Chriſtian, and none but he could do it; for it is not in the power of any creature, no not of the higheſt intelligence to make a thing of nothing: for *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing is nothing made, namely by the power and force of nature, though it may by God the firſt caus; ſo ſpeaks he. The world is eternal ſaith *Ariſtotle* and could not be made in time; either by the meeting of atomes, for their concours is diſorderly and caſual, and *opus naturæ opus intelligentiæ*; nor yet by the firſt caus himſelf out of pure nothing; for *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing can nothing be made, either by God or nature. The world is not eternal ſaith *Epicure*, but made in time without the aſſiſtance of any deity, which if any ther be muſt be ever at reſt; out of the eternal matter of ever moving atomes, it muſt be made either of them, or of nothing: and *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing can nothing be made, either in time or eternity, either by any ſecond caus, or by the firſt. And the ſame atomes by their own connatural mobility do make and marre, do and undo all things.

In theſe and a thouſand ſuch like conteſts that employ the world, does not a credulity once fixed fill up both the pages of the book? and all conſequent ratiocination, diſputes and arguments, are they any thing els but colourable explications of this fore-conceived inevi-

dent credulity ? Since then all ſciences ſtand upon ſom one or other baſis of belief, (which is a *poſtulatum* not to be examined) this world may indeed be eſteemed credulous but not knowing; and all maiſters of any whatever ſchools have equal need to ſet this motto over their ſchool doors, *Oportet diſcentem credere.* He that that will learn muſt beleev; and when he has learned all truths can be taught him, he does but only beleev that he has learned any. And ſo I take my leav of this ſecond great abyſs of nature.

§. 9.

Myſtery of providence.

THe third and laſt abyſs, is the great gulf of Gods *Providence* in the government of the world, equally as deep and unfoardable by man as the former (tho we may ſometimes perceiv ſome little glimmerings of it as an owl of the ſun, but even theſe are uncertain and doubtful) and it is ſo much the more perillous, than either of the reſt; for that in the other, we follow Gods power wiſdom and goodnes, ſo much the more admiring all things by how much the leſs we underſtand; but in this we are apt to call every thing in queſtion, and our thoughts if they be not well bridled ready at every turn to accuſe God, and plead againſt him, and cite him to judgement, to the peril of

of his heavy displeasure. And therfore he did very cautiously and wisely, who finding a doubt to rise within himself concerning providence, subscribed beforehand to Gods inerrable justice, before he would enter into any parly about his proceedings, *Justus es Domine* saith he, Just art thou O Lord, but why doth the way of the wicked prosper?

Is ther any man livs upon earth from the lowest hinde to the highest philosopher, that hath not perceived the depth of providence, and the absolute inscrutability of Gods wayes in the government of the whole creation, as a gulf without bottom where resignation adores and presumption drowns. My thoughts have frequently hovered upon the shore of this ocean, but I durst never pass further on, than so far as I saw ground, there dipping my hands and feet (to follow God and pray) but no further: nor did I ever receiv from any writings or discours of man any satisfaction therin: and none I expect.

For what are those immortal laws God hath fixedly prescribed, either to the earth elements or stars, which they never transgres, who is he can tell? They are many no doubt, and various; in order to him the first caus, in order to the several things contained within them, and in order to one another; for they must all make up one great *Pan* or univers, be it never so big.

And all things doubtles within the whole body of this univers, are don regularly truly aud juſtly, according to the preſcribed idea rule and meaſure, the will order and law of the firſt caus diſpoſer and governour, who is the way, truth and life to all the whole creation.

What the angels know herof cannot be certainly conjectured, nor whether any one be abſolute and univerſal overſeer under God of the whole viſible creation. If any Intelligence ſtand limited to the overſight and guidance of any one place, put caſe our earth or a ſtar, he may haply not know the laws of another no further than they concern his own ſyſtem; nay perhaps not all the laws of his own, but ſuch onely as himſelf is to mannage; for even ſom of theſe which concern him not to uſe, may lye covert in that great will, on whoſe revelation every intellect depends: and thus a miracle may be wrought by God almighty, even beſide or contrary to the cours of nature which is adminiſtred by angels. But man for certain knows none of theſe laws, no not any; let him exalt himſelf never ſo much in his own vanity; he knows not, I ſay, any of thoſe rules by which either the whole univers or our own earth and elements are governed.

Man is indeed the higheſt creature viſible upon earth, and the moſt excellent ſpecies known to our eyes; but who can therfor ſay there

there be not others above him, more knowing and more powerful than he, and more conversant in the government even of this our visible world, tho they appear not to our sight. We have indeed a preheminence of perfection but not of operation over any thing in nature; which is a superiority natural not moral. And therfor in all probability there must be som creatur over us with both the precedencies, far more perfect than any under them, and guiding also the motions of other things well known to himself; if namely God have committed the administration of this present world unto any other under his own influence and ordination. St. *Paul* seems to conceit that these spirits are evil ones, whom he calls *rectores tenebrarum harum*, but ther must be good ones too, to moderate the ill influence of those malign agents, or els man that livs upon earth is in a sad condition.

But as for us, what do we know of all this for certain, or what can we do? we can neither rais a wind or other meteor, nor asswage the sea, nor still an earthquake, &c. not only destitute of power to do it, but also of knowledg how it should be don. Ther be many creaturs under us, that is to say, inferiour in perfection of nature, as birds beasts and plants, but they are not under us at all either in direction or subordination of motion. We neither teach

the birds to build their neſt, or to ingender or provide for their young, or put forth the wing to flight, or to appear and hide themſelvs in their ſeaſon; nor the fiſh to ſwim, to get food and defence againſt annoiances, or to chooſe their reſort and ſtations in the liquid main, or thoſe ſeveral wayes they have for multiplication and livelihood; nor do we put the fanſy into the bee or little ant to work their tasks in ſeaſon, with the art and induſtry they ſhow in it; nor do we move the plants to their growth and ripenes, nor do we know our ſelves how theſe or any other things in nature are wrought. Thus deſtitute are we of uny rules of providence wherby this world is either ſet or kept in order; that we neither preſcribe them, nor ſee them obſerved, nor do our ſelves underſtand them. We are neither called to adviſe for the ordering of the being of things under us, or is our help required for their conſerving, or our ſuffrage demanded for the putting a period to their exiſtences.

And are not we in the mean time goodly rulers and diſpoſers of the world, that have neither hand in the making or guiding of it. I knew once an *Innocent* that took a fanſy in his brain, that he was maſter and diſpoſer of all the burdens that came up in barges and lighters by a river that ran through the town, and would conſtantly be upon the bridg at the hour they were

were to unload, where ſtanding very ſerious and attentiv, as ſoon as he ſaw the porters to carry forth out of any barg a burden of coal or corn or other proviſion, he ſtill bad them aloud and with autority to take it, and carry it that way which he ſaw them go, and all the day long he was never diſobeyed. Such maſters and governours are we of this world, with power to bid a bird to fly, or ant to creep, or wolf to run, or heavens to move even as we ſee they do; and ſo we are obeyed and no otherwayes; nor no otherwayes do we know either what they will or ought to do. We do indeed feed upon ſom creaturs, which we either enſnare or ſtand tame to our hands, and tirannize over ſome others, ſubjugating them either by ſubtilty or force will they nill they to our yoke: but this is no more than the beaſt fiſh and birds do to one another.

And as for the ebbing and flowing of thoſe ſeveral events and accidents that be proper only unto man, as peace and war, wealth and poverty, arts, policy, laws, languages, religion and the like; what a labyrinth is he in, that enters into conſideration of their varieties and cauſes, the ends and motivs of them. If religion be a thing ſo neceſſary to our ſalvation, how is it that our good God left the Gentiles for ſo many hundred years all over the face of the earth, to walk after the errours of their mind, in the blind-

blindnes and darknes of their underſtanding? what had they don before they were born to deſerv it; and if they be ſo dealt withal without deſert, how does Gods juſtice appear. And again, if a particular religion be not neceſſary; for example the Chriſtian, and that grace is univerſal and equally diſtributed to all men; why did Chriſt our Lord both give himſelf the trouble to teach it, and put thoſe poor harmles men his apoſtles to ſo many labours, neceſſities, and dangers of death to plant it in the world. And how coms it, that even this religion now revealed and preacht makes ſo ſmall progres, and brings forth ſo little fruit among us; and that the Turk and his Alcoran ſhould caſt it forth out of the many goodly Territories, where it did once ſo glorioufly triumph and fructifie, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Greece*; and hereſies and ſchiſms out of other places.

The aſſurance of our own ſouls immortality would conduce not a little to the exciting of our dull and drowſy ſpirits, unto a more quick and lively care of our future bliſs; and ſo dull we ar and doubtful of all things, that it were almoſt neceſſary we had it; and yet we are, God wot, ſo far from that, that we even doubt our ſelves, whether we our ſelves have any thing immortal in us; nor is ther left an argument in nature to convince us of it: to the end that even that which is moſt near unto us our own

immor-

immortal ſpirit might be as true an object of our faith as any of the things that be farther off. I have ſeen the arguments of *Campanel*, *Pomponatius*, *Decartes* and *Gaſſendus*, four great wits, many ſublime Platoniſts and acute Ariſtotelians more, of whom ſubtile *Scotus*, will by ſuch as underſtand him, haply be judged the Prince: and yet perceiv well enough that a quick ſubtle Atheiſt will find enough to deny and cavil againſt them all. That moral argument of S. *Paul* (*That we ſhould otherwis be of all creaturs the moſt miſerable*) is a very good one, whether the compariſon run between man and beaſt, or between Chriſtians and Infidels, and ſervs beleevers well enough: but if it be meant betwixt man and beaſt; then againſt one ſcale of the ballance filled up with the freedom from all ſolicitude and full ſincere content inferiour animals enjoy above man who is ever peſtered with the cares of this world, the Atheiſt would eaſily, to make the ballance even, caſt into the other ſcale, the many various perfections both of mind and body and variety of pleaſurs proper to man which may enough exalt his condition above beaſts although he were wholly mortal; and ſo fruſtrate the argument. The like may be don if the compariſon run betwixt Chriſtians and Infidels; tho here perhaps the argument is more preſſing; if we ſpeak of the old Chriſtians, and not of theſe

new

new ones whoſe religion is onely words and prattle.

Is it not a ſtrang thing that man the moſt excellent of creatures upon earth ſhould be ſo left to his own diſpoſition, to turn and ſwarv as he pleaſes, either to right hand or left, and by that means to fill the earth with injurious diſorders and enormities of ſin, which might as well have ever remained innocent and peaceable, whilſt all other creaturs both above and below us, go on orderly in their cours preſcribed by their maker without any irregularity or deviation. Does not every good maiſter of a hous, keep his whole familiy in order if he can and know how to do it? And God wants neither wiſdom power or goodnes, that he ſhould be either not deſirous or ignorant or not able to make all actually good: What chain of cauſes may unriddle theſe things, or declare why man ſhould be the onely mad creature upon earth, and not be able to work, as regularly with reaſon, as other parts of the creation do without it.

All things are in daily change both to Kingdoms in general and each mans particular perſon, both in matter of fame, wealth, power, and other accidents. But how do all theſe things happen as they do: what is the immediate caus efficient, what the final, where doth the juſtice appear? Hiſtories tell us of little els

but

but wars, battles, desolations, deluges, translation of empires, the rise and downfal of kingdoms in their power, renown, and civility; alteration of states and lawes, succession of deepest barbarism to most high civility, and again of most exquisite civility unto horridest barbarism, mutation of languages, pestilences, oppression, *&c.* By what lawes of the almighty are all these things ordered, and what justice infers such heaps of misery upon feeble mankind; especially since we see even with our eyes that all invasion which sets afoot the greateſt and most œcumenick changes is generally unjust?

If we do but only consider the horrid turmoils, that have been at times in our own countrey by the Romans and Brittons, Brittons and Saxes, Saxes and Normans, Scotch and English, the two houses of York and Lancaster; nay but the meer troubles of these last twenty years from 1640. to 1660. whereof we have been spectators and sufferers (nor will ther any pen be able to set down the miseries we have undergone) wherein rebellion prevailed over loyalty, dissimulation over truth, tenant over Lord, subject over King, even to the murdering of that sacred person by a pretended form of justice, in the face of the world, without any caus exhibited against him, but onely his own defence against their rebellion, and the depriving his loyal

al ſubjects of their eſtates, liberties, and lives, ſouldiers all the land over hovering daily over our heads, like ravens over ſick and dying bodies, *&c.* What juſtice, what providence appears to us in all theſe things: Are we not as blinde as beetles to diſcern it? The iniquity of man we underſtand well enough, but Gods juſtice in ſo ordering or permitting it, who can diſcern? and yet there is doubtles a reaſon in heaven for all.

What diſtinction appears in this world betwixt the juſt man and unjuſt? ſave that uprightnes and honeſty for the moſt part goes to the worſt. Is it not a myſtery, that ſo many innocent ſouls, perſons of moſt exact vertue and good conſcience, both towards God and man, ſhould walk up and down many of them hungry and half ſtarved, traduced and comfortles, of whom the world is not worthy; whereas the ſlighteſt of men, even vanity and ſenſuality it ſelf vaunts it in ſilks and fulnes of all plenty.

I ſhould be infinite, if I ſhould ſpecify the innumerable uncouth changes and chances in this world; all which carry no reaſon or equity at all in their forehead. The ſtories of empires and kingdoms from the beginning of time to this day, the records of all provinces, the lives of all particular perſons in the world, are all but little draughts and epitomies of this great amazement; all whoſe cauſes ſince they be ſo

utter-

utterly unknown to us, that we can discern no reason or light for them, which notwithstanding there needs must be; it appears that we know of our selvs as little of this great abyss as of the former. And it concerns us, I should think, not to be puffed up as generally we are in our opinions, but to humble our selves (wherein consists our greatest wisdom) before the great creatour and governour of the world, as well in this as other secrets altogether unsearchable, and say; Surely thou O Lord art just and wise and entirely upright in all thy wayes, altho we worms understand it not; for *shall not the judg of all the world do right.* Shall not he do right himself that judges and punishes every creature for their iniquity and wrong. Yet one of those Histories I cannot but touch upon, and that only in reference to the abovenamed unsearchableness of Gods judgements, which is the

Story of the Cimbrians.

others there be, hundreds of the same natur; but becaus this is nearer home, I choos to mention it.

The old *Chimbri*, *Cambri*, or *Cumbri* (in several times and places severally pronounced) were a great people and valorous in France vulgarly called *Gauls*, in England *Brittons*, in Scotland *Picts*, and elswhere otherwaies: but descended all if I be not mistaken from one hous

hous and ſtock. Theſe were the firſt people in theſe our northern coaſts that embraced Chriſtianity, from them derived to the Iriſh, then and a thouſand years before that time a moſt potent and renowned nation, whom the very Romans themſelves durſt never invade; but whether the Iriſh were of any conſanguinity with the Cimbrians it is hard to ſay, for my part I cannot tell. And as they firſt imbraced it, ſo did they both receiv it moſt gladly and profeſt it fervently and maintained it conſtantly. Indeed the *Gauls* were never all of them converted, but great and numerous families were Chriſtian there, even in the firſt ages of the Church; and their altars and oratories were private indeed, but moſt devoutly frequented. The *Brittons* after their converſion by *Elutherius* as they were a ſtout nation, ſo did they ſeem to be proud of nothing ſo much as this, that they were champions of the *Crucifix*. The *Picts* were nothing leſs either hearty or valourous profeſſours than they. But ſee the judgement. All theſe brave and valiant people the firſt owners and profeſſours of Chriſtian faith in our northern parts, and, as far as the memory of man can reach, the very *aborigines* and firſt inhabitants of the place where reſpectivly they dwelt, are now ſo far blown off from the very face of the whole earth; that of the antient

tient *Picts* not a man is remaining: the *Gauls* are so few (if any yet remain in *Normandy* or other parts of *France* mixed with the French blood) that none can point them out; and our *Brittons* are reduced to a handful of people remaining to this day amongst the mountains of *Wales*, which yet is the greatest and most conspicuous portion of those noble *Kimbri*, so much renowned in antient times for their policy and valour. The *Irish* have been many hundred years in their decline; and it must needs have been a mighty strong Oak long a growing and long in its full consistency, that is so long a dying: but in the last three hundred years the nation hath decayed more than before in twice the time, in the last of the three more than in the other two, and in the last twenty years of that century more than in the other foursore: So that now the nation is even at the last gasp, and ready to expire, except som princely hand, strengthened from heaven and the tutelary angels of the Kingdom prevent their utter ruin.

But the *Irish*, becaus no body els could subdue them, did, as it often happens to strong bodies, distemper themselves. The *Gauls* were overwhelmed by the French. The *Brittons* and *Picts* were blowen like butterflies by a strong winde, these into the Eastern sea, those upon the strand of the Western. The *Brittons*

indeed driven by a Saxon army from the East, kept themselves from drowning; but the *Picts* were chased by the Scot out of the West into the very Eastern Ocean; and were never seen nor heard of since. And all these sad sufferers, the *Gauls* many of them, but universally all the *Irish*, *Brittons*, and *Picts*, now in a manner chased from the face of the earth, were all of them most devout adorers of the *Crucifix*, most zealous old Christians who payed their daily homage to the God of heaven and earth before their holy altars, in the union of their crucified Oblation made for the sins of the world: and their persecuting conquerors were all paynims that worshipped either planets or devils. What can we do but stand amazed astonished and trembling at these wondrous judgments! and humbly casting down our eyes adore that supream Diety whose wayes are unsearchable.

The Pagans then alive and spectators of these judgements who were wont to impute to the impiety of Christian religion even the mischances of other men, would have a reason in readines for the heavy misfortunes that befel Christians themselvs; especially for the *Picts* and *Brittons* who having lived paynims for so many ages in glory, within an age or two after they had preferred their crucified Redeemer before the heathen gods, were brought to a general

neral and most precipitous ruin, whence they never yet recovered themselvs. But this their argument drawn from heaven, heaven it self in some sort confuted, when a while after by the working mercy of him they had opposed in his professours, all those pagan adversaries, *French*, *Scot*, and *Saxons* were brought to worship that very self-same crucified deity themselvs had persecuted before. But still the judgments of God in these and innumerable such like passages of this world are absolutely incomprehensible. And it is no unreasonable service, that man who is but dust and ashes should submit to him who is infinite wisdom power and goodnes both body and minde, both his will and understanding too, even in all things that concern the disposition and government of the world. This our own peace and safety requires, this the angels of God who watch over us expect at our hands, whom indeed nothing so highly provokes as our impatience and blasphemy against their sovereign Lord, whose judgments even they also with a reverential fear do submissively adore and tremble at. Which made wise Salomon to give unto mankind that great caution, *Ne dicas coram angelis, Non est providentia.*

If Christianity teach us true, neither do men dye nor kingdoms decay, meerly becaus their hour is com and period out; but *per inobedien-*

tiam venit peccatum in mundum & per peccatum mors. The Amorræans could not be destroyed saith the sacred text, till their iniquities were filled up. And what the brave nation of the *Cimbrians* might have done either before their conversion or after it, to deserv that dismal downfal, God only knows: But this we know, that what ever God does in the world is just and good. If they acted the evil before their conversion, it were a mercy in God to defer their punishment till they knew how to make it beneficial; if after, they then knew that when iniquity goes before, pennance must needs follow; and being now made Christians they were taught generally to beleev that the governours and powers of darknes whom before they served being now made their enemies, would work them all the mischief heaven should permit them, and that there were no other remedy, but only that preparing themselvs for afflictions, they should labour in patience to possess their souls: But if they had don ill, ill should com of it accordingly, and the punishment should answer to the transgression. For the decree is set and fixed from all eternity in heaven upon every nation upon earth, and delivered to the angel-governors thereof to see it put in execution in its season upon every people and kingdom; *Quantum glorificavit se & in delicijs fuit, tantum*

tum

tum date illi luctum; quia in corde suo dicit, sedebo regina, & vidua non sum, & luctum non videbo, ideo in una die veniant plagæ ejus, fames mors & luctus, quia fortis est Deus qui judicabit illam. And by this decree have long ago been judged all the great empires of the world, as also lesser provinces; the Babylonians, Egyptians, Argives, Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Romans, Persians, Sicilians, Macedonians, Bactrians, Syrians, Græcians, *&c.* no rigid maisters being more severe to punish their servants misdemeanour, than are the Angels of God to execute that divine decree upon kingdoms, families and the sons of men.

In the interim it wer a most blessed thing, if we could all walk by that golden rule; *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* For then in place of that malice hatred and insulting contempt that now fills us up, we should have our breasts sweetly repleniſht with the connaturall vertues of commiseration and charity, which would move us to help and pitty one another, ceasing now at length to insult any further, either over the poor forlorn *Brittons*, or distressed *Irish* whom we have too too long harassed and vexed and treated contumeliously; if not for their sakes, yet for our own, to prevent the like judgment upon our selves for aught we know very near and already lying at the door. Assuredly if we do it not, the worlds great

Governour will in an hour we dream not of it, revers the proverb upon our ſelves, and write upon the wall againſt us, *Quod feciſti alteri, hoc idem fiet tibi.* In that day, when our *England* once ſo glorious ſhall be laid deſolate, (and the life and glory as well of Citties and whole Kingdoms as of particular perſons hath a period) even as deſolate, as we by our ſtrang proceedings, eſpecially this laſt age, have made our neighbour *Ireland*; it will then be too late to think of theſe things. There is not a nation upon earth I am confident, even from the firſt creation to this day, but hath been made ſooner or later to taſt of the cup ſhe forced others to drink out of her imperious hands: As even it happens likewiſe in particular families; for he that by cunning ſtratagems undermines and ruins his neighbours hous, ſhall aſſuredly have a worm ride up to eat up his. The judgments of God are juſt, though ſecret, and not ſo ſlow as ſure: altho by the ſhortnes of our life and want of ſerious conſideration not one man of a million ſo far perceivs it as to be deterred therby from doing injuſtice to his neighbour. *Væ qui prædaris, nonne & ipſe prædaberis?* ſaith the Prophet Iſaias, *& qui ſpernis, nonne & ipſe ſperneris? Cum conſummaveris deprædationem deprædaberis; & cum fatigatus deſieris contemnere, contemnêris.*

But

But this is an abyſs that hath in it as much of danger as darknes. And therfor I will not muſe too much upon it.

§. 10.

Help.

THus God both in *himſelf* and *works* and *providence* is a triple great abyſs, altogether unſearchable by man; as we may in a manner ſee by what has been hitherto ſaid, and much more to that purpoſe reſerved to thoughts and meditation. But the more to ſtrengthen my aſſertion, I will conclude this matter with the addition of autority, which coming now into my mind I cannot totally omit. To the unſearchablenes of the firſt abyſs, which is God in himſelf, that great Prophet atteſts, who proclaims him to be a *hidden God*, a God that hides and conceals himſelf, *God Saviour of Iſrael*; and no leſs that grave Apoſtle, who profeſſes of this great God, that he *inhabits light unacceſſible*: though it be light, yet whiles it is inacceſſible light, we are never the near to ſee it. To the unſoardablenes of the ſecond he ſubſcribes that was eſteemed the wiſeſt of men; to the other one of the holieſt: The wiſe man ſpeaks thus. *Vidi afflictionem quam dedit Deus filiis hominum, &c.* "I ſaw "an affliction which God hath laid upon the

" ſons of men, that they ſhould be rackt in it ;
" he made all things good in their time, and
" gave up the world to the diſputation of men,
" that man might not find out the work which
" God hath wrought from the beginning even
" to the end: Thus ſpeaks wiſe *Salomon*. Men talk and diſpute of Gods works ; but what is the event ? to find out ſomthing ſurely, tho it be but little, nay, nay, if we may beleev the Wiſe man, to find out nothing, even juſt nothing from the beginning to the end. And who would not wrangle and diſturb the whole univers, about ſuch diſputes as theſe, where opponent & reſpondent conclude nothing. And that the world might not think this ſpeech of his to be haſty or leſs conſidered, he repeats it again afterwards: *Intellexi* ſaith he *quod omnium operum Dei nullam poſſit homo invenire rationem eorum quæ fiunt ſub ſole, & quanto plus laboráverit ad quærendum, tanto minus inveniat, etiamſi dixerit Sapiens ſe noſſe, non poterit reperire.* The holy man of the third abyſs, which is Gods providence and ordination of things, ſpeaks thus: *O altitudo divitiarum, &c.* " O
" the height and depth of the riches of the ſa-
" pience and ſcience of God, how incompre-
" henſible are his judgments and his wayes un-
" ſearchable ! who hath known the ſens of our
" Lord, or who hath been his counſellour, or
" who firſt gave unto him, and retribution
" ſhall

"shall be made: for out of him, and by him;
"and in him be all things, to him be glory unto
"endles ages. Amen.

And all that I have hitherto said about our ignorance both of nature and providence is but in explication of our B. Saviours antecedent in his argument to *Nicodemus*: and to close up my whole discours I finish all with his Syllogisme: If you conceiv not, saith he, terrestrial things when they are spoken, or propounded to you, how can you think of your selves to comprehend celestial: and so say I.

Nor are we much helped either by *Plato* or *Aristotle* himself, and many hundreds of his disciples and our masters, who have filled the world with their philosophical discourses, in this our speculation. After a thousand questions and disputes wittily raised, nimbly handled, prolixly discussed, resolutely determined, and strongly guarded against all opposition of argument; after our whole courses of logick, physick, and metaphysik well penetrated and understood, our heads indeed we find a little stuft with strang and uncouth words, which is the outward rind and bark of knowledg, but real science where is it? What do we yet truly and certainly know of the many things God hath made or don amongst us? Even so little, and in so small a manner that without offence we may call it nothing: And so must

ever

every one acknowledg, except he will pretend himself to be wiser than *Salomon*. And the busines of religion must needs concern either God in his own nature and properties, or his works, or providence; in all which things we ar of our selves equally ignorant, as well he that advances his way with passion, as he that defends himself; as well the opponent as respondent; and the advantage if any ther be, is precisely on his side that exceeds in humility and resigns himself to some greater autority than any private mans can be.

Let us therfor be sure we are in the right, before we whet our indignation about it against our innocent neighbour: and since we can never find that out of our selvs, let us never strive against him with passion, but either discours with a sweet charity and moderation, or els leav him altogether as he is in his own thoughts, which for aught I can know of my self may be true and good; his reasons tho not to me, yet to an indifferent arbitrer may be equally perswasive with mine own, and perhaps more efficacious, and on both sides but topical places at the best, if both opinions be personall and stand alone, separated from all autority extrinsecal, whence they should receive a further and more prevailing power: for no demonstration or uncontroulable science is to be expected in this world by such poor worms as we, about either

ther God or his works or constitutions: and whatsoever is said, be it asserted never so peremptorily, may by the same or semblable grounds be as stoutly contradicted. What then can we do better or more consonant to the darknes of our present condition, than to have peace with all men, to judg none, to suspect our selves and commend the innocent intention both of our selves and others, unto that almighty goodnes, who having placed us in this world of darknes will expect no more from us than lies within our reach and power; and if any thing be such 'tis a rational resignation and quietnes.

As several opinions have been advanced and maintained in the world, maugre all opposition of word or pen, without any the least tottering or fear of yielding on the defendants side, so am I assured that any whatever opinion either old or new and hitherto unheard of, may be defended against the reason of all mankind joyned together against it, if but resolution and contempt of the opponent go along, as generally it does, with him that is respondent and defender of it; whether he guide himself by reason, autority or other light: if he go by the first, no reason but his own shall be admitted for reason; if by the second, his own autority shall be cast in to counterballance to any autority brought against him, and his own

be

be it what it will ſhall be of force, all others againſt him either not genuine, or impertinent or corrupted; if by the third, what ſhould any one go about to talk with him that will be judged by nothing but a light which is only within himſelf; who as ſoon as he is oppoſed pitties the ignorance and darknes of his antagoniſt; for ſuch he peremptorily concludes all men to be, that gainſay his judgment which only he deems light. And well then may any one defend any thing, when nothing can convincingly be proved againſt him; either through the inevidence of the matter, or ſelf-conceit and obſtinacy of the authour. In the interim every opinion contemns and is contemned; and in that ſtate will it remain, till long time and that mutability which layes hold on all things make it to expire, if there be not ſom ſpeaking oracle unto which both parties will ſubmit.

I need not for proof of this invincible pertinacy appeal unto the antient Philoſophers, none of whom could ever be brought to yield unto the others, though they were all great maſters of reaſon. Our preſent controverſies in England, which proceed for the moſt part upon autority, and yet by no autority will be laid down, may ſufficiently juſtifie my words. And all this happens by the unnatural coupling together of darknes and paſſion, little knowing ignorance and all preſuming pride, ſelf-conceit

and

and folly, which though they be as dissonantly put together as the ox and ass in a plow team, yet are they, so unhappy is our condition, seldom or never asunder.

Indeed he that is truly learned in theological affairs, who hath read all histories greek and latin that may concern Christianity from its first beginning to this day, perused the councels thoroughly, well understood the antient fathers maistered the subtile schoolmen, and so penetrated all the books of the Bible that he is able to resolv logically every treatis and discours thereof into its final scope: such a man may haply discern, where the truth lies in a dispute between two sects or men grounded only upon tradition or authority, if it be in one or perhaps in neither of them, although for default of learning or excess of passion they may neither of them discern it. But yet notwithstanding if he, even that knowing person shall let his mind walk on yet further, and call that very autority to account, as in natural reason well he may; how it came hither, where it resided in every age since its first being, who first authorised it, and what sufficient ground he could have so to do, what marks it may exhibit that it is indeed the off-spring of such a father under whose name it goes, or that he erred not whoever he was in that particular, who either first wrote or afterwards transcribed it, (and

the

the transcribers may have been som thousands of indifferent affections and capacities) whether nothing in reason or other autority may gain-say it; whether the words in the original character by som art or other, (wherof ther be tricks good store) may not speak another meaning, or at least by some trope or scheme of rhetorick be otherwayes interpreted, &c. then I say even that knowing person shall find himself in a mist, and so thick a one too, as that except he relye upon the autority of some living oracle, whom in these and whatever such like things without further question or doubt he may beleev, he shall never be able to get out of it. Especially if he dive yet further into the secrets of providence concerning such things; and question first, how divine goodnes should permit the world to wander in darknes and in the errour of their wayes, so many hundred years without a truth so necessary as it is reported unto mans salvation; how a company of ignorant men, who are ordinarily transported with their own fansies as oraculous visions, should be chosen to be our maisters in it: how these should be so particularly inspired, and never any since them though of the same profession; nor yet they till their maister was departed, if ever they did presume or give out any such thing; for in their writings we do not find they did: one indeed sayes of the old Prophets

phets that they were inſpired, but ſpeaks not any ſuch thing either of himſelf or co-evangeliſts; and although the maiſter promiſed after his departure to ſend them his Spirit to teach them in his place all things they were to know, yet does it not thence follow that they wrote no more, nor otherwayes than they ſhould; beſides many appearing contradictions and other human infirmities that ſeem ever and anon to occur unto a critick judgment, as well in their writings as other mens, might eaſily move one to think that thoſe illiterate men might as well fail in ſomthing, as all holy fathers greek and latin, and Senatours of all ſacred Councels ſince Chriſts time, profeſſours of the ſame Chriſtianity and pretenders to the ſame Spirit, have in ſom mens opinions erred and failed in many, namely all things wherein we finde them to gain-ſay us. And indeed we do in effect deal little otherwiſe with the apoſtles writings, when we give a peremptory interpretation to ſuch places as gainſay our opinions, quite contrary to the expreſs words and the natural ſence they be apt to make out unto us, according to which all antiquity underſtood them, adjoyning withal our own natural reaſons why the text cannot otherways be true, but only in ſom trope or figur though we cannot our ſelves tell what; for example the places in goſpel that plainly ſpeak forth

the

the real preſence of Chriſts body in the Euchariſt; which is no other but to ſay plainly thus much: if that writer, let him be Evangeliſt or what he will, really meant as he ſpake in his ſtory, he is not to be beleeved againſt the plain experience both of our eyes touch and taſt, and ſo many improbabilities if not impoſſibilities of reaſon; and Chriſt himſelf either ſpake not in that manner the Evangeliſt uſes, or if he did he could not intend to affirm that which neither he nor God himſelf can make good. Nor will we grant any thing to Chriſt but what we can do our ſelves, or underſtand at leaſt how it may be don,

If ther were upon earth any ſpeaking oracle unto whom all parties would ſubmit in theſe affairs, diſputes would ſoon end; if ſuch a one be excluded or denied, the very riſing of them is as ominous as the blazing of a *Comet* or coming of a *Whale* into a river and portends great diſturbance and deſolation. The world had that fearful apprehenſion, when they firſt heard that *Luther* would ſhine with his own light, and defy the ſtars of heaven: But they were more then aſſured of much approaching miſchief, when they once underſtood that *Calvin* had left the Roman Sea to ſhow himſelf and domineer and ſport in the freſh waters of *Geneva*.

§. 11.

Reason.

WHo shall then set up himself for a guide to his neighbour in affairs of religion, which must needs carry an obscurity far above all that is in nature; and how and which way will he do it, that a good disinterested judgment may approve of his pretensions! There can no other way, whereby any should now afresh, after Christian religion has been above sixteen hundred years profest in the world, set up himself a new extraordinary directour, be thought of or imagined; but either som high inconfutable reason, internal special light, or purer interpretation of formerly received Scripture? And what man is ther in the world can now wisely begin to pretend any of these things to the disparagement of the rest of the Christian world.

Reason carries the faireſt show, and seems most civil and manly; and if it lean upon principles of faith formerly received, it may do much good for the strengthning or securing of religion in weak beleevers; but then it makes not faith but supposes it, and must know withal, and if it be right reason cannot but know, that all argumentations are answerable, which if they rely upon obscure suppositions, may according to the height of the maisters conceit

pretend much, but can prove nothing irrefragably. Did religion com at firſt by reaſon? or muſt it only begin now? A good beleever cannot but think, that *Chriſt* the great maiſter had a reaſon for what he taught; but he muſt beleev firſt, before he can think ſo; and altho he had a reaſon himſelf, yet ſince he taught us none, we can have from him no other reaſon but his autority, and this may be beleeved but not evidently proved: for his miracles recorded and not ſeen, ar as pure an object of faith as his autority and perſon: nay if I had ſeen them, I could not have told my ſelf unto whom the intricacies of whole nature are ſo much unknown, whether nature and art might compas them or no; and ſo might I conclude him to be ſome ingenious perſon or great naturalliſt, but not a god.

Nor is it likely that Chriſt ever meant, that reaſon ſhould frame our religion; both becaus he conſtituted ſuch men to plant faith, as were not any maiſters of arts; and if reaſon had been the buſines it had been fitter to ſend them about the world to learn than to teach; as alſo becaus himſelf, though he did oftentimes with ſubtil and moſt rational argumentations confute the Phariſees errours, yet did he never by any reaſon that I can remember eſtabliſh his own doctrin, nor anſwer to any *Quomodo* tho he was often put to it; but ſtill when the Jews de-

demanded *How* can this or that be; *How* can man forgiv sins, *How* can this man give us his flesh to eat, he repeated again his own assertion and doctrin, and might perhaps confirm it by miracle, but he proved it not by reason. And it is very fitting, if so be he were such a person as we beleev him to be, that he should be taken upon his word, and not stand to give his vassails a reason of his will.

If Christ our Lord had been no more than an ordinary wise legislatour, yet could he not rationally intend at once both the unity of his Church upon earth, and the guidance of all men in it onely by reason of their own; for my reason is not his, and may well prove contrary as well to it as that of my neighbours; whence will result together not only not one religion, but also no religion; whiles one neighbours reason differs from another, and perhaps both from Gods. Wherfor wise and holy Church hath in all ages both forbid her children to dispute their principles of religion in the sense they had received them, and also refused to be tried before any Senate by the philosophy of any pure man, to stand or fall by his axioms: This is apparent not only by ancient writings of Christian doctours, but by a fact of Emperour Julian, who falling from Christian religion, amongst other oppressions he deprived Christians of their schools of literature tho-

rowout the Roman Empire, telling them by by way of jeer, that Chriſtians need not any learning unto whom this one word *Credo* is ſufficient. And indeed it is ſufficient for faith, and muſt needs be both the ſufficient and only means of conſerving a Church in uniformity: for religion muſt be ſomthing which may be common to all perſons that profeſs it, and equally proportioned to all capacities and conditions: and ſuch a thing is to *Beleeve*, but not to *Ratiocinate*. All men both rich and poor, wiſe and unlearned, prince and peaſant, may equally beleev one and the ſame thing, and ſo hold it uniformly from time to time: but if that very thing were to be ſet up unto each one by his own proper reaſon, the ſeveral kinds of Beings in ſenſitiv or vegetative nature, even from the oak to the muſtard ſeed would not more differ, than that one judgment in ſeveral men: have ther not been fifty or threeſcore ſeveral interpretations of theſe few words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, &c. and almoſt a hundred opinions amongſt the maſters of reaſon about their *ſummum bonum*. We may ſee by our own theological ſchools, both what huge variety of judgments ther will be in things left to our own reaſon, and how great our obſtinacy therein.

And if any ſay, that it is enough for ſome great maſter in theſe times by the ſtrength of his

his reaſon to rais a religion that is onely to be accepted; and others of weaker abilities may either take all from him, or onely follow and hold what themſelvs are able by their own reaſon to reach: This cannot ſatisfie at all; for firſt, if I muſt take a religion upon the credit of ſom great maſters reaſon, which my ſelf cannot judg or comprehend, I had as good take it from the firſt maſter and beleev as I do, and not ſuffer another in theſe dayes to make himſelf lord over me, and lead me another way of his own: and he indeed that does ſo, does not only by this ſlight put himſelf into the place of Him who conveighes faith, but of *Chriſt* himſelf who made it; for the ſenſe is the life and ſpirit of all words, and *Chriſt* then ſhould but only adminiſter matter for this new riſing Sun to quicken: On the other ſide, if I be not to follow anothers reaſon but my own, what variety would ther be in the world about the ſame thing, not only betwixt man and man, but betwixt one man to day, and the ſelf-ſame man to morrow; for the opinions which be totally from our ſelves we change continually upon the variety either of our own intrinſick diſpoſitions or caſual alterations from without; and in each ſeven years revolution we find a whole volume of new thoughts and judgments within us, contrary to former ones we had of the ſame things, diet, clothing, paſtimes, com-

pany, nature, providence, books; and yet all muſt ever be true, for generally in all the ages of our life, we are equally obſtinate in that we ſet upon: ſo that whiles reaſon is licenſed to create a religion, not onely all the religions which any particular man ſhall run through in his life time, but thoſe alſo what ever they be which whole kingdoms and nations ſhall at any time accept of, in a word all the religions of the whole earth muſt needs be juſtified. And he can mean no leſs who would have that to be religion and only that which reaſon makes forth: Both heretick and Catholick, both Jew and Chriſtian, Pagan and Mahometan do all and every one ſtifly defend, that his religion is rational, that his beſt reaſon is with it and for it, and that no right reaſon can be againſt it?

If reaſon that ſhould follow, once go before and lead religion, it will ſodainly thruſt Chriſt out of his chair, and ſeparate at once all his Church from him: for if I hold nothing but what reaſon dictates, then is not Chriſt my maſter; nor will ther be any Church that may any more belong to Chriſt than to *Democritus*, *Ariſtotle*, or at leaſt dame *Nature*. If any reply, that we muſt take the words from Chriſt and his goſpel, but the proper ſenſe which words of themſelves cannot carry with them our own reaſon muſt make out. This indeed is true thus far, that as we do underſtand langua-

ges

ges and human words, ſo are we accordingly to conceiv of their meaning, as we know thoſe words were either at firſt impoſed, or by long uſe have got the power to make out: and if thoſe words ſpeak faith, the ſame Church gives both words and ſenſe together, expounding them by her very practis which we daily convers withal: but if any will further by his pretens of reaſon give power to any or all men, to make out at his pleaſur a particular ſenſe of his own, differing from the ancient meaning conveighed together with thoſe words, this muſt needs juſtifie *Calvins* private interpretation, from which this new doctrin differs but in ſound, whiles that is here called reaſon which he calls ſpirit; and both do equally exclude the guidance of any Church beſides the temple of their own heads; in both wayes every one is in deed and reality chief byſhop to himſelf; and equally will religion be as various and mutable as our thoughts, and anſwerable to the natur either of our reaſon or ſpirit, here wide, there narrow, there none at all. Nay, what is ther in chriſtianity that one reaſon or other as well as peculiarity of ſpirit may not deprave and fruſtrate; the goſpel may be made to ſpeak Mahometiſm with one reaſon, and the Alcoran to Evangeliſe by another. Ther is a great maiſter of reaſon now in the world, out of whoſe principles all vice and capitall ſins may

be juſtified; as ther was another not long ago, whoſe reaſon diſabled good works as much as this inables ill ones. So that the fear and danger of ill deeds on the one ſide, and the merit and benefit of good ones on the other being now by ſuch doughty reaſons evacuated, we are likely to have a jolly merry world. And theſe be Chriſtians too, not only good ones, but the beſt and pureſt, all true heart of oak. The enemies of good works ſpeak ſcriptur glibly; the patrons of ill ones, nothing but pure reaſon; and both do equally defy the whole world ſhall dare to gainſay them.

It were not amiſs to know of thoſe who will have nothing to be believed but what reaſon can demonſtrate; firſt, by what philoſophy this reaſon muſt be deduced; muſt it be *Ariſtotle* or *Plato's*, *Democritus* or *Pythagoras*, or *Fludds* Roſi-Crucian Philoſophy, or ſom other we yet never heard of. The good apoſtles caution in his letter to the Coloſſians meets I think with them all indifferently; *Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philoſophiam & inanem fallaciam ſecundum traditionem hominum, ſecundum elementa mundi, & non ſecundum Chriſtum*: where philoſophy is ſet forth as a vanity and cheat apt to ſeduce, and lead us from our Chriſtianity; if namely it be Queen regent, as our Rationalliſts would have it to be, and not ſubſervient to it; and men are not perſwaded to

it

it but cautioned and dehorted from it, as oppoſite and deſtructive of Chriſtian faith. I ask ſecondly, whether all the reaſons and reaſonings of Chriſtians are to ſubmit unto ſom one capital reaſon, or no. If they are, then reaſon-ſubmiſſion and faith-ſubmiſſion will amount to the ſame thing, the Judg only changed; all Chriſtians being now to acknowledg a new Pope of reaſon inſtead of their old Paſtour of faith. If they are not to ſubmit to One, we ſhall fall ſodainly from our unity into infinity of diviſions; for faith is one, but reaſons like ages and complexions are ſome ſtrong, ſom weak, ſom ſtaid ſom wild, ſom regular ſom corrupted, and all even the beſt obſcure and dark. Indeed all human reaſon is ſo intermixt with fanſy almoſt in every thing, that one can hardly ſay which is which. Nor can this great Patron of Reaſon ſet forth himſelf any volum of Rationall religion, but another who hath not aforehand captivated his underſtanding to his naturall Light may haply look upon it as the iſſue of a dreaming imagination, the iudgments and fanſies of men differing as much as their complexions. The old Philoſophers wer all great maiſters of reaſon, ſuch at leaſt they profeſt themſelves, as much as any now can do; and yet they ran into hundreds of diviſions, and could never be reconciled; by which means antient Chriſtianity

ſtianity overtopt them and expoſed them all to deriſion both by the goodnes, and alſo the conſtant uniformity of it ſelf; wherby thoſe humble reſigned Profeſſours, remained in all ages and places, notwithſtanding the great variety of ages, inclinations, & capacities found as well amongſt them as other men, one and the ſame body of Chriſtians, hoping, beleeving, practiſing the ſame things; whiles all the maiſters of reaſon wandred ſeveral waies into endles diviſions, toiling and tireing their brains in their mutual oppoſition, till they and all their reaſon vaniſhed into nothing.

If a man may gueſs at hidden cauſes, I ſhould think that the various factions of human reaſon in the diſquiſition of their *ſummum bonum* or final end, together with the means conducing thereunto, may be one caus might move divine goodneſs pittying our miſerable inſtability to ſend us a ſacred Teacher, unto whoſe truth all human intellects ſhould for their laſting quiet conſtantly ſubmit; at ſuch a time, as man himſelf now wearied in his long and fruitles ratiocinations might becom more willing to reſign. So that he that would ſet up again this our dark and inſtable reaſon in place of faith-ſubmiſſion, does, as much as in him lies, diſable divine wiſdom, oppoſe his ordination and contemn his goodnes unto mankind, indeavouring to rais again that miſt of philoſophical

phical confusion, which the sun of brightness dissipated with his presence and the only autority of his revealed will. We must surely take our religion as the Apostles did theirs, not for any other reason given but only the autority of the maister.

If we are once resolved to beleev Jesus Christ no further than we can find a reason for it, as the pagans pleaded long ago; it is to be feared we shall reject both him and his whole gospel, even as they also did. Therfor, he that will be my disciple saith the worlds Messias, must not maintain but *deny* himself.

All reformations of religion are nothing els, but an interposing of our own judgments in the points of faith delivered, to discern which is probable and which unlikely, which to be received and which rejected, and so to separate the right from the wrong; be it don by light, spirit, reason, or other plausible pretens. And if ther be any such thing as religion at all, this interposing of our judgment in her affairs must needs be a high inconsequence; for what we neither did nor could find out, that we can never be able either to refine or mend, or so much as to say assuredly which part of it is true and which not. Indeed if it be true, then is it a divine influence of sacred doctrin, not to be examined but reverenced; if it should be but touched irreverently it disappears. On the

other

other ſide, if it be not delivered but invented, it is indeed no religion at all, but like unto all other philoſophy, *Inanis fallacia ſecundum traditionem hominum:* if reaſon can mend any one part of it; then juſtly it may, as in time aſſuredly it will, reject all the reſt.

S. Paul had no doubt a very ſublime intellect, and yet he declares that his own and every underſtanding in the world is to be captivated unto the obedience of *Chriſt* and his faith; and that all Chriſtians walk by faith and not by *ſpecies* or evidence; which is a quite contrary way to this, that would have no religion but what coms from reaſon? According to this, all are to walk by ſight and not by faith; but in St. *Pauls* judgment all Chriſtians are to walk by faith and not by ſight: this would have faith captivated to the obedience of the underſtanding, St. *Paul* would have the underſtanding captivated to the obedience of faith. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo: for ar not moſt part of the things our Lord revealed contingent, and in a manner all of them hid from our eyes? And if ther can be made no demonſtration in natur, of the things we do ſee and touch and convers withal, as is ſufficiently inſinuated, how can things inviſible be reached and confined and concluded by reaſon? And this indeed is the very ratiocination of *Jeſus* Chriſt to *Nicodemus*, whoſe word I ſhould beleev, although

I did not my ſelf know either the antecedent to be true, or the inference certain and neceſſary. In my mind it is a poor imagination to think, that doctrinal words delivered beleeved and practiſed in the world for almoſt two thouſand years, ſhould now at length be to receiv their true ſence from a new doctour in our times, which hitherto the whole Chriſtian world wanted, and through the univerſal ignorance of mankind could not till now finde it out: and to adde for further countenance of the way, that the Church hath three times, ('tis pitty ſhe is not allowed her *quatuor tempora*) in the firſt ſhe walked by *credulity*, in the ſecond by *probability*, and in the third which begins in theſe dayes of ours by ſcientifical *demonſtration*, is as weak a fanſy as the other: for one and the ſame Church muſt have the ſame motives and grounds and practiſe and articles of religion, which muſt needs be all of them exceſſively divers, if that were true? The ſame concluſions and articles can never iſſue from a dark credulity, a purblind probability, and a ſtaring demonſtration.

I know that in the ſecond and all ages of the Church, preachers and doctours explicated and declared their faith by congruous reaſons and ſimilitudes; but neither then nor in any time of Chriſtianity, did they frame their faith either by reaſon or probability, nor yet allowed it either

either to ſtand or fall by thoſe means. S. *Auſtin*, *Euſebius* and St. *Bernard* lived in that which is by our new *Rationaliſts* called the age of probability; and yet the firſt in his book *de utilitate credendi* confutes the Manichees for ſaying that faith is not to be admitted till a reaſon of every thing be given; *Euſebius* in the fifth book of his hiſtory condemns the *Arthemonites* for ſtraitning faith within the limits of human wit; St. *Bernard* in his epiſtles judges *Abailard* for the ſame fault: And they were all three backt with that great Apoſtle who ſpeaks confidently that *fides eſt rerum non apparentium*, Heb. 11. And again by another, if not the ſame as great as he, who ſaid, *we preach Chriſt crucified, to the Jews a ſcandal, to the Gentiles a folly; for the Jews ask a ſign, and the Gentiles require wiſdom*, 1 Cor. 1. So that in S. *Pauls* divinity, as 'tis Judaiſm not to beleev without a ſign; ſo likewiſe to ſuſpend our faith upon philoſophical reaſon is pure paganiſme. I will not burden my paper with the teſtimonies of thoſe ancient heroes who profeſſedly affirm that they all rely wholly upon obſcure faith, and not upon any reaſon either topical or demonſtrative for their religion. St. *Gregory* and *Theodoret* ſhall ſerv for all; *Fides non habet meritum*, ſaith the firſt in his homilies upon the Goſpel, *ubi humana ratio præbet experimentum*, ſpeaking of human reaſon that ſhould

ſhould precede faith: *Theodoret* in his *græcanicis affectibus* ſpeaks thus, *Cur noſtrum credulitatis & fidei titulum accuſatis? quodque noſtris ſententiis tradendis nullam demonſtrationem prætendamus, ſolam vero illis fidem atq; credulitatem inſinuare conemur quos rebus divinis imbuendos ſuſcepimus? Annon ratione plenum eſt quod Deo abſque demonſtratione credamus.* Which made St. *Gregory Nazianzen* tell Emperour *Julian* when he objected to the Chriſtians their ruſticity and ignorance, that the one word *Credere* was the ſame to Chriſtians that *Ipſe dixit* to the Pythagorians.

But this way of ſetting up and holding that only to be religion, which right reaſon will make forth and juſtifie, is a rare and untrodden path, and which ordinary ſpirits dare not venture upon; and 'tis held forth only by ſome wits here in London diſciples to a learned maiſter, I ſuppoſe to daſh out of countenance that groſſer way of maintaining all by Scriptures texts. And it will ſerv well enough for exerciſe and diſcours, when good wits meet together, as *Cicero* ſhowed his eloquence in defending Paradoxes: but it muſt needs be dangerous, if it be once believed and reduced to practis. Nor is it eaſie to ſay whether ſolitary reaſon, or a text privately interpreted would caus more and greater inconveniences: this makes the skirts of the Church too narrow, that inlarges

them

them too wide; even so wide, that all Jewes, Turks and Pagans would by this reckoning be in the truth; which in effect is onely to say, there is no religion at all; *quod ubique est nusquam est:* and so much is easily collected by the general axiom joined with our own particular experience to the contrary; for if nothing is to be beleeved but what can be demonstrativly proved, and we find by experience that nothing can be demonstrativly proved either about Gods will, his providence or nature, it will thence necessarily follow that nothing at all is to be believed. And he that holding the axiom endeavours withall himself to demonstrate the whole body of religion, creates the like conclusion in mens minds without further words, when they find he has demonstrated nothing.

The power of reason then will not suffice to set up a new guide: and he that pretends this for his own preheminence before others, must either actually in words or at least vertually in effect disable the whole reason of mankind besides his own; which to sober men will not exalt his caus, but rather render him and all his reason contemptible. In affairs of religion it is not any conceited learning must carry it, but only a downright humility and resignation, equally in all Christians, learned or unlearned, Prince or peasant, prelate or people that profes it.

Some

Some will object; how can our faith then be rational, or how can we give a reaſon for our faith, if indeed we have none for it. I anſwer, that faith has his reaſon, as ſcience hath his; and both be good reaſons but very much differing: the reaſon of ſcience is drawn from the very intrinſick bowels of the truths that be known, but faith draws his reaſon from the autority of him who delivered it; this ſerves one and the ſame for the ſtability of all articles be they never ſo many and divers, as the Trinity for example, and ſacraments, creation and the life to come; whereas every ſeveral concluſion in ſcience muſt have his own proper reaſon. And one of theſe muſt not have, nor can it admit of the reaſon that is peculiar to the other, for then it ſhould not be it ſelf: if ſcience ſhould have an extrinſical reaſon from autority, it would then not be *ſpecies* but *fides*, not evidence but faith; and if faith ſhould have an intrinſical one, it would not be faith but evidence. He gives the beſt reaſon in the world for his faith, that reſolves it into an autority which is the beſt can be had: and he that reſolves it into his own reaſon, as he cannot but run himſelf into danger, conſidering the wondrous frailty and darkneſs of mans judgment in all things; ſo likewiſe conſidering that the very eſſence and quiddity of faith requires to rely ultimately upon the credit of a revealer, inſtead

of defending faith he deſtroyes it. To beleev no more than we ſee is indeed to beleev nothing.

Let wiſe *Salomon* and *Chriſt* our Lord make up the concluding argument. *Man* ſaith *Salomon* can *finde out nothing* of the works which God hath wrought from the beginning to the end, nor of all the works of God almighty can he finde out any reaſon, of the things that are done under the ſun, and the more he labours to ſeek the leſs he finds, although the wiſe man, or philoſopher, ſhould ſay he knows them, he cannot do it. Thus ſpeaks *Salomon*, arming us aforehand againſt the temptations of any who might endeavour to miſlead us by a pretens of demonſtration into erroneous wayes to our own prejudice. Then comes *Chriſt* our Lord in his diſcours with *Nicodemus*, wherin he teaches him the regenerating power of Baptiſme which *Nicodemus* could not underſtand, and makes up the argument, to this effect: If you cannot comprehend even the things you ſee and feel and convers with here on earth (this is *Salomons antecedent*) as the wind for example, which you do not know either whence it comes or whither it goes, much leſs muſt you expect to comprehend the inviſible and celeſtial ſecrets of religion, this is Chriſts *conſequence*; as if he had ſaid, theſe things are ſublime and forreign and brought to you, from another ſuperi-

periour place you know not, and therfor to be ſubmitted unto by faith, and not to be meaſured with your poor reaſon, which does not ſo much as know the things that be at home. And it is an argument *à majore ad minus*, which ever holds good in the negative.

And as for the two other pretenſes of interiour light and pure ſenſe of Gods word, which be held forth more generally for the victory and preheminence in the conteſt, ſomthing I have ſaid already, and ſomthing more ſhall ſpeak in the following paragraff.

Third Chapter.

No religion or ſect or way hath any advantage over another, nor all of them over Popery.

§. 12.

Light and ſpirit.

BY reaſon of this great obſcurity of things (wherby we are led into ſo many petty differences where otherwiſe there would be none) we ar ſo withheld from diving into weightier affairs, that

not one of a thouſand does ſo much as think of them: ſo that greater things we take hand over head, and boggle at leſſer which in reaſon muſt needs follow upon the admittance of the former. The caus of all this is, the narrow reſtraint of our judgments and conſiderations, which ſeldom look forth out of our own doors. And hence it is, that if any one by caſualty of birth, ſociety, books, or perſonal fanſy, adjoin himſelf once to any one opinion here in *England*, he ſodainly entertains ſuch a prejudice againſt all the reſt, that ther is left in him no further place for counſel: for all other wayes beſides his own are condemned, as ſoon as his own is accepted; and he does no ſooner think himſelf ſure, but all others muſt in the ſame time be loſt. And yet he hath but his own judgment for it neither, ſupported only with the appearances of I know not what ſpirit or internal light, which he and his enjoy and all others want. And if a man preſs him once to further difficulties than himſelf hath thought on, though without the reflection upon them he could never be able to ſettle any firm judgment about theſe things in particular, one ſhall ſoon find that he heeds not any of thoſe things, without which the other could not be judiciouſly concluded; nor is able even by the help of that light or ſpirit of his, to ſatisfie therin either himſelf or other man: which argues

gues plainly that the ſpirit and light he pretends is nothing but his own private reſolution not ſufficiently amplified, and yet irrationally fixed againſt all autority and counſel

The Chriſtians in antient times eſpecially for the firſt four hundred years after Chriſt, had many ſerious and grave diſputes with the Jew and Pagan; which being rational and weighty, and about the foundations of Chriſtianity wheron the other articles were built, did puſſe even the wiſeſt of their clergy to anſwer: but after all the ratiocination ended, whether it ſufficed or no, they ſtill concluded with this one word *Credo*, which the love of Chriſt had faſtned upon them; as emperour *Julian* comonly ſurnamed *Apoſtate* teſtifies of them. And this, although in philoſophy and logick it had been a weak anſwer, yet in religion it was the beſt and only one to be made; ſo that all the burden fell at length upon the autority of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who being both a man, and one too that was crucified as a malefactor, undertook to ſend forth religion into the world under the title of a divine Prophet, and the onely Son of God almighty maker of heaven and earth, which could not but at firſt make a diſturbance both among the Jews and Gentiles where it ſhould be preached. And the great myſtery begins here, and here it muſt end; for this autority being once admitted from the Church

that brings it, all other catholick truths will follow by a kind of consequence from the same hands: and therfor this autority of his which can never be demonstratively proved unto us that live now, but only by vertue of the Church that derives it us, Christ must maintain himself by signs and wonders, and such signal proofs of his divine providence over his Church from time to time, that his deity may somewhat appear in his Churches progres and defence; and all other doctrins must be made good by it, and the Church that first preached it to us.

In any age of the Christian Church a Jew might say thus to the Christians then living: "Your Lord and maister was born a Jew, and "under the jurisdiction of the high Priests; "these he opposed, and taught a religion con- "trary to Moses, (otherwise how coms there "to be a factjon) but how could he justly do it? "no human power is of force againſt Gods, "who spake (as you also grant) by Moses and "the Prophets; and divine power it could not "be, for God is not contrary to himself. And "although your Lord might say, as indeed he "did, that Moses spake of him as of a Pro- "phet to com greater than himself, yet who "shall judg that such a thing was meant of his "person? for since that Prophet is neither "specified by his name or characteristical pro- "perties, who could say it was he more than

any

"any other to com. And if there wer a "greater to com than Moſes were; ſurely born "a jew he would being com into the world, "rather exalt that law to more ample glory, "than diminiſh it. And if you will further "conteſt, that ſuch a Prophet was to abrogate "the firſt law, and bring in a new one, who ſhall "judg in this caſe? the whole Church of the "Hebrews, who never dreamed of any ſuch "thing, or one member thereof who was born "a ſubject to their judgments.

This is the great œcumenical difficulty: and he that in any age of Chriſtianity could either anſwer it, or find any bulwark to ſet againſt it, ſo that it ſhould do no harm, would eaſily either ſolv or prevent all other difficulties ſhould ariſe by the ſame autority by which it was cleared. For if *Chriſt* wer not only a lawful Teacher, but even one that was greater than *Moſes* as Chriſtians beleev him to be; and both the one and the other pretended this great work of eſtabliſhing a Church, ſurely *Chriſt* muſt do it in as great an excellency as *Moſes* and with ſome advantage; the doctrin and diſcipline muſt be as ſublime, and ſtated as permanently as his: and *Chriſt*, who wrote no law, muſt ſo provide notwithſtanding, that his Church might otherwiſe have one from him and keep it as uniformly as the Hebrew Church did theirs. Wherfor as *Moſes* after

he had done all things which belonged to himself to do, constituted *Aaron* and his Successours to be guides, rulers, overseers, and judges of all Controversies that might arise in the tribes about any points of their religion he had written them. So must St. *Peter* and his Successours be inabled by some equal if not more special means, (sith they also were constituted by Christ to govern his flock) to captivate all men to the obedience of Christs will: otherwise his Church could not go on so uniformly in all ages, which uniformity is the glory and indeed the very life and conservation of a Church, as that of the Hebrews did. Nor may any body prudently imagin that the Spirit of *Jesus* in his Church, and all the members therof cooperates in every one immediately unto truth, as it does to grace; for then why should he constitute doctours and pastours and bishops over us, as the good Apostle learnedly asserts in his epistle to the Ephesians: *Ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores & doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerij, in ædificationem corporis Christi, donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei & agnitionem filii dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi; ut jam non simus parvuli fluctuantes, & circumferamur omni vento doctrinæ, in nequitâ hominum, in astutia*

ad

ad circumventionem erroris: Moſt excellent pathetical words; where we have firſt the doctrin, that *paſtours are ſet over us* in the Church to guide us: then the end of that conſtitution; which he declares firſt poſitively, then negatively: the poſitive end is a perfect unity of faith which by that means muſt vegetate and fructify and grow up, even as Chriſts natural body under one ſpirit and head, united and compacted together, and that without ceas even ſo long as that myſtick body laſteth upon earth, *in menſuram ætatis plenitudinis Chriſti*, till it receiv its final conſummation: the negativ is to prevent ſchiſmes and hereſies, which might otherwiſe render the Church in her members both contemptuous and liable to continual ruin, whiles every particular perſon left to himſelf would be carried up and down like children with puffs of novelty blowing ſeveral wayes, by the cunning ſubtilty of men. pretending new light, ſpirits, reaſons, and ſuch like ſtratagems, in *aſtutia* in their knavery and pride of heart to bring people into a circumvention of errour; all which inconveniencies are avoided by following the guidance of the Church and the Paſtours therin appointed over us. A general ſpirit of truth in thoſe that are ſet over the flock keeps them together and ſafe: whereas particular lights in the ſheep that are to be ruled would divide them from their paſtour

ſtour and from one another; and diviſion infers deſtruction.

Nor could that great Jewiſh argument be any way warded or put by, but by recours to the Churches infallibility, which can be no other but what Chriſt gave her; and his own autority and truth revealed by this Church is the utmoſt foundation that ſupports the whole fabrick; nor can any thing be further aſſigned to ſupport it but God with whom it is beleeved to be united: for as all material buildings and their connexion are beheld with the eye, but their foundation is not ſeen, but is beleeved by the iufluence it hath in ſupporting the fabrick, which it ſelf is ultimately ſuſtained by the center: So may we diſcern ſome conſequences of the points of religion upon a ſuppoſal of a great fundamental truth upon which they all depend; as this is, that *Chriſt is a true and divine teacher:* but this cannot be ſeen or maintained otherwiſe, than by a pure belief yielded unto that Church that firſt taught him; and His truth ſuſtains all his doctrin, and the formal fabrick of the Church built upon him; and it can be grounded upon nothing but God himſelf the center of all ſubſiſtence and verity. This connexion of us to the apoſtles, of the apoſtles to Chriſt, and Chriſt to God St. Paul inſinuates, when he ſaith to the Chriſtians of Corinth; *Omnia veſtra ſunt, ſive Paulus, ſive*

ſive Apollo, ſive Kephas, vos autem Chriſti, Chriſtus autem Dei.

The Chriſtians might indeed reply to the Jew and ſay; that Chriſt our Lord was a holy and ſacred perſon, divine, innocent, and unblamable in his whole life and converſation: that his miracles were as authentical and great as thoſe of *Moſes*, yea greater than his, and conſequently gave ampler teſtimony of his unparallel'd worth: that he came from heaven by the miſſion of his eternal father and his own great benignity, to plant upon earth an univerſal catholick Church amongſt all nations, which in the fulnes of time God was pleaſed to do, whereas Moſes had confined his Church by Gods command, till that hour of general ſalvation was come, unto the one family of Abraham; and that he had received autority from God ſo to do, which not only his own evangeliſts but even Moſes and the prophets ſufficiently atteſt, who all do ſo ſpeak forth the birth and life paſſion and reſurrection of this our great *Meſſias*, and the glory of his Church amongſt the gentiles, accordingly as himſelf promiſed and it hath now appeared to be; and that nothing but rancour and prejudice and the ſcandal of his humility, and the Jews miſtake of the *Meſſias* his firſt and ſecond coming, did incens them againſt their own lord when he appeared amongſt them; who

who alſo looked even then for a *Meſſias* ſodainly to com whom they were to obey and follow; and cannot probably, being then the only ſelect people of God aſcribe their immenſe deſolations, exiles from their own homes, and miſeries theſe ſixteen hundred years, than to the guilt they have contracted upon themſelvs by ſhedding the blood of that ſacred perſon. Nor are they to be excuſed, ſith all the ancient Rabbies before Chriſts coming did openly profeſs throughout all the Hebrew Church that they underſtood not the end and meaning of Moſes law nor ever ſhould, till the great *Meſſias* came to teach them; which was ſo beaten into their minds that all the Hebrews beleeved it, as appears by the ſaying of the woman of Samaria, *When the Meſſias comes he will teach us all things:* although through the hatred they bore to *Jeſus* Chriſt they began after his coming to ſing another ſong.

This I ſay and ſuch like words they might reply, and prove all by ſome autority or other: but yet whatſoever they could alledg, the Jewiſh Rabbies would give another interpretation to it, or if it wer their own goſpel flatly deny it. And ſo having no other further autority to rely upon, but the truth of that Church that ſtands upon this foundation of Chriſts divinity, there they muſt reſt. For ther can be no hope either of ſatisfying a querent or convincing

vincing an opponent in any point of Christianity, unless he will submit to the splendour of Christs autority in his own person and the Church descended from him; which I take to be the reason, why som of the Jews in Rome, when S. *Paul* laboured so much to perswade Christ out of *Moses* and the prophets, beleeved in him, and som did not.

So then, the great resolv of all doubts must be immediately upon the autority of the present Church, which derived from the Church foregoing must by several concatenations bring us at length to the autority of Christ, which is the root and firmitude and life of all: and if this be once acknowledged and firm, and firm it cannot otherwaies be than by captivating our wills and understanding to his love and obedience under that notion the Church hath revealed him; it must equally support all future generations of Christians be they never so many in any temptation or difficulty that should afterwards happen, and the whole Church and all her doctrin built upon it. Nor can any at any time pretend rightfully and justly other motive of his beleef, than what the apostles had for theirs; the first age from the apostles; the second age from the first, *&c.* and still the foregoing Church does but derive the faith and practis received unto its successour, and both must equally stand upon the same foundation of

one

one and the ſame autority, which all generations take by the like reſignation and faith-ſubmiſſion unto the worlds end. So that he that departs in any age from the waies of the foregoing Church upon what pretence ſoever it be don, of knowledg, interiour light, reaſon, ſpirit or other diſcovery, he leavs the foundation on which his faith was built and vertually forſakes Chriſt, and would have had the ſame argument againſt him, if he had lived in his time: for if the Church, the viſible Church prove not to be even in that particular age a juſt keeper and deliverer of faith received, then was the Church deceived not ſo much in that age as in the firſt, when ſhe took her faith from him that did manifeſtly ſo comport himſelf as if he would be taken for a God, and promiſed his Church by the general ſpirit he would ſend her, to teach her all truth and ſtrengthen her therin againſt all oppoſition even to the conſummation of the world: which none but God or one exceeding near unto him could make good: and if this were not performed, the impoſtur was in the firſt beginning. That building muſt needs ſtand firm that reſts upon a Deity, which hath influence upon the whole fabrick to keep it up; and if it be not ſo kept up and conſerved, the Church doth but vainly flatter her ſelf when ſhe boaſts of the divinity of her ſupport; if ſhe fail in her doctrin and faith,

faith, Christ is not God.

Whensoever therfor we read either in the Acts of the Apostles, or other ancient story of the conversion of a Kingdom or people unto the right religion of Christianity, we still find it was don not by any private illumination of any one, who living before in darknes with the rest was now secretly called to teach others; but by a resignation unto a former doctrin brought from Christ by his missioners and preachers; by submission to a truth delivered to them from without, not springing up within them. Faith comes by hearing; and every man upon earth, that hath ever been approved Christian received it that way, and was made therby not a maister but disciple to the Church. Wheras on the other side this spirit and light and such like discoveries we so frequently talk of, makes us not schollers but maisters *ipso facto*, and urges not to submit to foregoers but to condemn them; not to resign our own but to captivate others understandings, not to go to the Church, but to go out of it; and that upon the single motive of a new illumination which none had before us, and we from no body.

I know well enough, that a man cannot be converted and becom a good Christian, without the assistance of Gods grace exciting and cooperating with us to our good, when the truth

is

is taught and revealed to us: But this I ſuppoſe is not the Light men talk of; for this is rather in the affection and will than in the underſtanding. And it bids us hearken to another, not to our ſelves, to join with a Church already planted, not to begin a new one of our own: It ſayes not to us, make a vineyard of your own, but go into mine. And the intellectual Light men ſpeak of, if we have any, we receiv it afterwards as a reward of our humility in that Church, where we did not kindle it but found it already burning, to guide our feet by it in the wayes of peace. *Crede & intelliges*, ſaid a great Prophet, beleev and you ſhall underſtand: but we muſt beleev firſt, and by that obſcure ſtep of beleef, which is as a dusky twi-light between the darknes of infidelity we lived in before, and the light of truth we go to, arrive we to all future happines.

But we in *England* that pretend this new Light and ſecret Spirit, are ſeparated by it from a former Church but brought to none; nor are we made diſciples by it but maiſters on the ſuddain, and inabled to teach all men that which we never received from any: which is abſolutely againſt the whole cours of Chriſtianity, and will if it be admitted ſet open a gap unto all fanatick fanſies.

St. *Paul* profeſſes he was apoſtle not of men nor by men but by God; and the reaſon is, be-

caus

caus his firſt call was extraordinary from heaven, as was likewiſe the ſuggeſtion he had to his miſſion; and yet that God that called him although he ſhowed him ſo ſingular a favour, yet would he not diſpens with his own orders and conſtitutions even in him, but ſent him to the good Prieſt *Ananias* to be by him inſtructed and catechiſed and admitted into his Church: and with thoſe people St. *Paul* found in the profeſſion of that faith did he often conferre, even he that was ſo ſtrangly called from heaven conferred the Goſpel which afterwards he preached, as himſelf ſpeaks in his epiſtle to the Galatians, with thoſe people and with that Church he found in actual poſſeſſion and profeſſion of that faith, *leaſt*, ſaith he, *I ſhould have run in vain*; that is leaſt he ſhould do or think or preach any thing amiſs contrary to the truth received unto which he was called; which he could no otherwaies by the conſtitutions Jeſus himſelf had made be aſſured of, but by comparing his doctrin with that which was believed and practiſed in the Church before him; into which he was now incorporated as a member in that body by the aſſiſtance of the grace he had received, to be firſt a diſciple, and then afterwards a maiſter and teacher. And when he did becom a doctour, he did not make himſelf one, no nor his calling by Chriſt ſufficed to do it, but he was made ſuch a one under the hands of

the Apoſtles, and by their approbation, autority & ſacred ordination, as may be ſeen in the book of the Acts ch. 13. Nor was he to teach without that Churches leav or contrary to her faith, but by her direction and in ſubjection to her.

This is a faithful ſpeech and worthy of all conſideration, which ſeriouſly pondered would diſſipate in a moment all what ever pretences of light, ſpirit, reaſon, or other thing that ſhal mov any to a new way by himſelf, contrary to what he hath received and ſeen practiſed in the Church before him. And if any would ſeriouſly peruſe the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, wherin the footſteps of primitive Chriſtianity ſufficiently appear, he ſhall find that all that were called unto Chriſts religion, were brought to the feet of the apoſtles and prieſts, who received them at the door, and brought them into the hous of God by the laver of baptiſm, and impoſition of hands, and confeſſion of ſins. And it was not onely the ordinary but ſole ingres into that Church; and none were ever eſteemed to be of that body, but only by thoſe means, which alſo the paſtours of the Church were onely to mannage. He that coms not in at the door, ſaith Chriſt, is neither ſheep nor ſhepheard but a thief and a robber. And true Chriſtian religion conſiſts not in going out of a Church, but coming in, there to ſubmit to the antient dictates of piety which Chriſt revealed.

§. 13.

Puritan Plea.

TO a judicious man, whom a word ſufficeth, it will already appear that no opinion or way here in England can have any advantage over the other, by vertue of diſcoveries made by any light, ſpirit or reaſon: ſince ther can no ſuch be legally pretended to ſet up any new religion apart from the former, but to joyn rather with the old, which if it be not abſolutely true, Chriſt is not God, and all Chriſtianity but a human invention. But yet for the further ſatisfaction of my reader I will look a little more particularly into the wayes and pretenſions of all parties, and as briefly too as may be.

The *Quaker* (for I have both read their books and converſed frequently with their perſons) is in appearance very juſt and honeſt, his open pretenſes good and plauſible, and books ſpiritual enough to one of our vulgar readers, unto whoſe judgement they be well proportioned; for good words are put together to promote ſolid and ſincere honeſty, and to evacuate that empty ſhow of piety which has now generally taken place in the world, in lieu of the real ſubſtance that is in a manner quite vaniſhed out of our hearts and hands: But theſe words are ſo ſtrangely jumbled together, that every line has good ſens in it, but all toge-

ther none; for as they carry no reference to any one ſupreme ſcope, to which as the utmoſt object of the whole diſcours all thoſe phraſes may be applied; ſo being well examined and compared together they will be found very frequently to gain-ſay one another; and he that looks for connexion and correſpondence either of ſens or ſentence, will loſe his labour. I have never ſeen any thing, that for the ſtile and context of the ſpeech doth more nearly reſemble *Mahomets* Alcoran than a good *Quakers* book; for in both be handſom words, ſom dreaming conceits interlarded with undeniable truths, much imperious cenſur of all mankind that will not ſubmit to that way, endles tautologies, and no connexion; and it would even amaze a man to ſee how pathetically the good *Quaker* decries all mortal men and tramples them under his feet, with pious words moſt uncouthly put together; in a manner, as far as I am able to imitate him to this purpos.

"The Lord hath begun a good work upon "earth, and he will finiſh it, men ſhall ſee it "with their eyes, and all darknes ſhall be "confounded before his feet, a little thing "within thee ſhall lay thy ſhame open, and "ſtrike thee hip and thigh, his goings are "mighty, and nothing can reſiſt the breath of "his noſtrils, when he ſhall make the moun-"tains to ſmoak and the hills to tremble before

"the

" the arm of his power, when he begins to
" make his Saints glorious he will do it, all that
" has exalted it self shall fall, root and branch,
" and the proud cedar must down, thou shalt see
" it in that day, for it will come upon thee,
" even as pangs upon a woman in travel, Baby-
" lon shall fall, and all the glory of men be laid
" in the dust, when Christ shall reign in his lit-
" tle ones, and they in him, for ther must be
" an end, an end to adulteries and darknes, an
" end to pride, to tiranny, to all the sons of
" men, that the Lord may be all in all, woe,
" woe, woe, is it not told thee, is not the
" truth preached, is not the light already com,
" and yet men hate it, the sons of men hate it,
" they persecute that light, but light cannot
" be hurt, it cannot be prevailed over, they
" may show their spleen to the truth, but all
" their spight it must end, it must yield at last,
" nothing is stronger than truth, not wit, not
" strength, not policy, not wealth, not pride,
" not falshood, the horns of the beast must fall
" off, as well the little as the great one, when
" the beast is slain and cast out into the wilder-
" nes, to the fouls of the air, to be devoured
" by the beasts of the field, does not the Pres-
" byterian preach for hire, does he not walk in
" black the colour of the whore, does he not
" frequent steeplehouses or bellhouses built by
" Papists, and prophaned with adulteries and

" fornications with idols, does he not set open
" his wares in his shop, commonly called a
" pulpet, a popish name, does he not court
" and cap and cringe for lucre, filthy lucre, ac-
" cording to men, is ther any power of godli-
" nes in him, truth and the word of God
" does not consist in words, it is not written in
" paper, 'tis here within thee, hearken to it,
" yield obedience there, attend what it sayes
" there: Protestant what is protestant, a meer
" carnal idol a cheat, abomination, an imp of po-
" pery, the eldest brat of the whore, thou canst
" not, thou canst not, thou canst not stand, thou
" art assuredly to fall before the arm of the lord
" which is bared against thee, and all thy cheat-
" ing lies shall be laid open in the dust, for men
" to trample, and go over, and tread under
" their feet, O popery, idolatry, sin, lies,
" thefts, tyrannies, wickedness, darknes, hear-
" ken unto me, come to the light and hear it
" speak, it will guide thee, it will guide thee to
" the truth, it is a sweet thing within thee, it
" speaks comfort, it makes thee see and hate all
" kind of corruption, if thou wilt heed it, and
" hearken to it, and follow it, it will make thee
" contemn thy self, contemn all mortal men,
" contemn pride and the glory of this world,
" and all popish superstitions, and all that ex-
" alts it self, popes, cardinals, principalities,
" steeplehouses, to lye in the dirt and dust of
" the

" the earth, which will be ſweeter to thee with " that light within thee, than the ſilks and gold " and earthly pelf of this world, miniſtery and " magiſtracy and worldly power, the two horns " of the beaſt is invented only by Antichriſt to " oppreſs Chriſt, the Pope is the old ſerpent, " the grand ſeducer, he it is that ſhows the ap- " ple that is fair to the eye and ſweet to the " taſte, but poiſon in the ſtomach, the Saints " and little ones muſt rule, and all iniquity " ſhall be don away, the light will diſſolv all " the beaſts ten horns, *&c.*

Well good neighbour, it is enough: When Chriſt coms we will worſhip him, and beg to be admitted into his kingdom; till then let us have peace, which is I am ſure ſom part of it. We cannot anſwer you, if that will ſatisfy you whom I know no anſwer will. I never heard of a doctour could work any good upon a Puritan, but only one, figured out by our Engliſh Poet in his Comedy of *Bartolmew-fair*, and unto him I muſt leav you. Every good man in the world wiſhes with you that all iniquity were don away; and well may you I ſhould think content your ſelvs with them to wiſh it ſo to all, and ſee it don in your own perſons. Why do you trouble the world with your uſeles clamours, and put it ſo out of tune, that Chriſt when he coms can find no quiet entertainment in the land, for the wars and broils his

great Saints have raiſed in it? If you talk a little longer of Chriſts coming, and make way for him as the fanaticks did laſt January with bright ſteel armour and ſhining head-pieces, ſharp cimiters, piſtols and harquebuſſes, ſtoutly fighting and ſeverely declaring againſt the whole earth whom they condemned to ruin, we have reaſon to fear that the ſirname of this your Chriſt will be *Oliver*, and your golden dayes but the ſlaughter and bloodſhed of your innocent neighbours. If your meaning be good, ſhow it by your peaceable converſation; and ſpeak no more to us, for we need it not and heed it as little; but ſay your prayers in your cloſets, and prepare your ſelvs for his coming, whom you judg ſo near: Nothing is ſo ſuſpicious as tumultuous piety. And I do earneſtly requeſt you would ſeriouſly peruſe two ſhort ſtories related by wiſe *Gamaliel* in the fifth chapter of the Acts, and make them a part of your primmer. *Men Iſraelites*, ſaith he, *look to theſe men what you are to do. Before theſe dayes there was one Theodas profeſſing himſelf to be ſom body unto whom conſented a number of men about four hundred, who was ſlain and all that beleeved him was diſſipated and brought to nothing. After him there was Judas Galileus in the dayes of profeſſion, and he drew people after him; and he periſhed himſelf, and ſo many as conſented to him were diſperſt.* And both theſe roſe up under a pre-

pretens of piety; and, if I be not miſtaken, for Chriſt too; whoſe reign they would have ſet up in Paleſtine before his firſt coming, or therabouts, even as you would now before his ſecond, to the diſturbance of the Kingdom you live in.

So then, good friends, ſetting aſide your violent exclamations againſt all that adhere not to you, which you cannot your ſelves juſtify, humility and peace being the great and inſeparable property of piety if it be true and real, our agreement with you is already made. For the true light you magnifie we praiſe it too and hope we enjoy it; the vice you deplore we do equally deteſt; the coming and reign of Chriſt we hope and wiſh for with all Chriſtian reſignation; and the two horns of miniſtery and magiſtracy, as ſoon as the world is grown ſo good and peaceable as ther ſhall be no further uſe of them, will be taken away; but till all iniquity and the wild beaſts you ſpeak of be rid out of the earth, I hope you will be ſo rational as not to think we will throw away the only horns of our ſafety; and if you do well, you need not fear the ſword either of ſpiritual or temporal power. The Apoſtles were never rebellious to any autority they found eſtabliſhed in the world. Nor is ther any power upon earth can juſtly diſturb a Prince or Kingdom by pretens of any light truth or religion, which be it never

ver ſo true is to be humbly offered not violently intruded upon any.

The *Anabaptiſt* walks with the *Quaker*, and makes up with him a pair of *Independents*; his books carry the like pious ſtrain, but have ſomewhat a clearer colour of art and leſs of zeal. The particular controverſy of *Infant-baptiſme*, which becaus he allows not of it, gives him his ſpecial name, I will not meddle with. But his great argument why children ſhould not be baptiſed, namely becaus they cannot either know what is don to them or concurr themſelves to the effect, if it were of force might in my mind equally hinder their corporal nurs to waſh or make them clean, unto which they are ſo far from concurring, that as much as they are able they reſiſt it and ſtruggle and kick and cry amain when 'tis don, not knowing what good is don to them; and as ther is as much need of the ſpiritual waſhing as of that, ſo can God as eaſily with his laver make their ſouls clean without their help, as we their bodies. However, gentlemen *Anabaptiſts*, if you will not waſh your children, you will give us leav I hope to baptiſe ours; which if it ſhould not do them good, yet will it for certain do you no harm: cuſtom is a tirant, and we cannot but keep it; if you like it not, *unuſquiſq; in ſuo ſenſu abundet.*

Even as the *Papiſt* is defenſiv againſt *Proteſtant*,

ſtant, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*, who all hate and perſecute him, ſo is the *Independent* offenſiv againſt them all: but the intermediat *Presbyterian* and *Proteſtant* are in an offenſiv poſtur againſt their foregoers, and defenſiv againſt their revolting ſucceſſors.

But the *Presbyterian* very much renowned in theſe days for his zealous prayer and preaching, does not ſo much heed the bitings of his junior *Independent* weaker than himſelf both in learning and repute; as he does endeavour to diſable the *Prelate-Proteſtant* his foregoer, whoſe gravity and long continuance in the land with much eſtimation and applaus cannot without great hoſtility and force of wit be as he could wiſh utterly diſparaged. And ſo the *Presbyterians* caus in this great conteſt bears in a manner this ſcheme of plea againſt the *Proteſtant epiſcopacy*.

"Your Monarchick-ſuperintendency wherin "one ſhould tiranniſe and lord it over many in "ſpirituall affairs, we can no wayes approv, "againſt the lively current of Goſpel-diſpenſa- "tions, in which if any will be greater than the "reſt, let him that he may be ſo indeed by the "form that is in Chriſt, who being in his divi- "nity-fulnes emptied himſelf into the figure of "a ſervant, be made the leaſt. We have all one "Lord and Maiſter, and we equally his ſervants, "unto whom alone we either ſtand or fall, from

"whoſe

" whoſe fulnes we receiv all of us grace for
" grace. Did not the maiſter check his apoſtles
" for the like ſpirit-ambition, when they la-
" boured againſt the vein of the ingoings of
" humble Chriſt within their ſouls, to be one
" greater than another, wheras they were all in-
" differently under him whom they called Lord
" and maiſter, and by his own teſtimony very
" truly. And if we be ſucceſſors to the Apo-
" ſtles in ſoul-miniſtery and diſpenſations of
" Goſpel-verities, we ſucceed them alſo in their
" abſolute independency upon any other Lord
" but himſelf, who is all in all. The firſt re-
" forming Proteſtants in the fulnes of time and
" age of reconciliation-light, whom both you
" and we acknowledg to be indued with moſt
" ample gifts and eſſences of Chriſt within the
" cloſets of their ſouls, ſtruggled and lift
" and bore up more reſolutely againſt this Pa-
" pal-government the very Egiptian reſidence
" whence ſucceeding darknes ſpred it ſelf about
" the world, than any one or other pernicious
" doctrin might have flowed from that fours,
" unto the obſtructing of the light-diſpenſati-
" ons from above upon the Lords precious peo-
" ple. And not without reaſon, for all do-
" ctrin-vaſſailage was exerciſed and kept in
" hand by that Epiſcopacy-power over mens
" immortall ſouls, whoſe command belongs
" only to him who ſees and rules hearts, to

" the

" the utter ruin of all Christian liberty in the " Gospel-messengers, who now were to admi- " nister to the hungry mouths of soul-starved " persons not bread of life from heavenly pla- " ces, but husks and chaff from the earthly pal- " laces of dry and deceitful dictates of men. " Nor was this Prelate-presidentship ever per- " mitted in any reformed Churches beyond the " seas, where reformation-light first sprang " forth, but pulled down and abhorred either " as downright Popery, or at least the shadow " and imitation of it: and we who be the " lights of the world and salt of the whole " earth, as we are to refrain from all show of " evil, so can we not find upon earth any superi- " or spirit-power by which we may be made " good: for if the primary lights of the world " and stars of the firmament be once put out, " who shall lighten them again, whose abode " is in earth and clay? And if the salt have " lost his savour wherwith shall it be seasoned? " Nor can we be ignorant that this Episcopacy- " power was set up in *England* many years af- " ter Reformation-ingres by the ambitious po- " licy of som men who falling from their for- " mer humility-spirit set up that chair of a " State-spirituall for themselves, which when " another sate in it they used all kind of endea- " vour, force and power to throw it down.

" Can prelate-affecters deny that Episcopa-

" cy-power

"cy-power was bythe firſt and pureſt reformati-
"on-light utterly ſubverted? If you know it not,
" the ſmallnes of your judgment will condemn
" you, if you know it and do the contrary you
" are condemned in your own judgment: and if
" the reformation was impure in this, then was
" Proteſtant Reformation corrupt both in its
" firſt birth and the moſt glorious of all its en-
" terpriſes, wherin our conſciences wer with-
" drawn from the tyrant-yoaks of inveigling
" men unto the ſweet influences of Chriſt, who
" as he is the great paſtour of ſouls, ſo he is ſure
" not to miſlead his flock by any ſuch paſſions
" as do frequently domineer in man, when he is
" once ſet over his fellow ſervants, pride igno-
" rance, ſelf-will and intereſt. And if we be
" once brought again to the ſame ancient ſervil
" yoak of conſcience-tyranny to receive our
" light and influences from men as before we did
" under Popery, why may we not by the ſame
" ſtrong tide of an irreſiſtible ſelf-leading pow-
" er be driven uncontroulably to the ſame or
" greater errours? Except you will ſay, that
" the Archbiſhop of Canterbury is a ſurer and
" more unerring guide than the Romiſh by-
" ſhop: both of them I am ſure be men and
" equally fallible, who ſtanding either of them
" betwixt us and home, may by their uſurped
" power over conſciences which be only ſub-
" ject to the inviſible Lord of truth, lead us
" again

" again either into our ancient or ſome new in-
" vented errour; and if they impoſe the yoak
" who can reſiſt them: But the Lord of truth
" cannot lye, and the beams of his light falling
" immediately upon his peace-meſſengers as
" once upon the apoſtles in cloven tongues of
" fire, untainted with the interpoſition of any
" intervening obſtacle, muſt needs be both clear
" and true. *I will teach you all things*, ſaith he,
" to his apoſtles; he ſaid not that one of them
" ſhould teach another; nor did thoſe cloven
" tongues deſcend firſt from Chriſt upon Peter,
" from Peter to Andrew, from Andrew to John,
" and ſo forward in an hierarchical line which
" Papiſts imagin in their Church, but from
" Chriſt alone immediately upon them all Nor
" can you move us at all by telling us as you do
" of ancient tradition for Epiſcopacy-power
" even from Chriſt time unto this preſent age,
" ſith all thoſe times and places are concluded
" by the pious Reformation under popiſh dark-
" nes, which began even in Pauls time when
" the myſtery of iniquity, even this myſtery of
" papal tiranny began to work, and ſo over-
" whelmed the whole earth, till at length the
" Lord was pleaſed by the fooliſhnes of preach-
" ing to enlighten thoſe little ones who were
" predeſtined to beleev a truth aforetime hidden
" to all the ſons of men. Did we not all ap-
" peal from ſuch popiſh traditions to the ora-
" cle,

" cle, to the goſpel, to the word of God, and
" to the truth that cannot lye: And what
" other inſtrument did we make uſe of, to the
" aboliſhing of that human ſupremacy over
" mens ſouls, which now again by erroneous
" tradition you would contrary to your own
" principles obtrude upon us, than that very
" word and oracle. And the Goſpel which as
" it is now by Reformation-purity put into
" every mans hand, ſo is every man, the mini-
" ſters ſucceſſors to the apoſtles by the help of
" Chriſts light which by frequent prayer they
" unite to themſelves, the people by light they
" receiv from goſpel-miniſters to interpret and
" underſtand it, is totally with us and for us.
" Look into thegoſpel of Matthew, &c. *Hic*
" *ſubauditur longus textuum catalogus ab initio*
" *ad finem Biblii contra epiſcopatum.* If you
" reply that we muſt for the ſenſe of all theſe
" places have recours unto the Church; what
" Church do you mean, yours out of which you
" ſay we are fallen, or the popiſh Church which
" both you and we deſerted? Take which you
" will, for the ſame reaſons and goſpel-verities
" equally reject them both: and if we muſt
" hearken to your Church, out of which you
" ſay we are fallen, why then did not you obey
" that Church out of which you fell your
" ſelves; if that wer in errour, and therfor
" to be deſerted, yours is in no better condition:

" but

" but the invisible congregation of the faith-
" ful, which in our first reformation we took
" to be the Church, can never fail. And if you
" begin now to take the Church in a popish
" sens for any hierarchical prelacy, you do at
" once condemn your selvs both of inconstan-
" cy and dissimulation and also of violation of
" gospel, and rebellion against that visible
" Church our forefathers found themselves in,
" unto which it seems now by this tenour of
" your speech they were bound by their Chri-
" stianity to obey. Scriptur autority you have
" none for you, nay it is all against you; hu-
" man words and practises being now rid by
" Christ of all those servil yoaks we valiew not,
" and the true light of purest Reformation,
" which you have deserted, sith it is with us as at
" the beginning, we must not forfeit; nor do
" any thing may obstruct the ingoings and out-
" goings of little Christ within us.

Whiles the *Presbyterian* is hotly busied in this his plea against the *Prelate-Protestant*, the *Independent* touches his elbow and advises him to bethink himself, lest with the same weapon he wound his adversary and kill himself. For if such reasonings, saith he, be of value, what will then becom of the clerical Presbyterian black coat, which being derived from popery, finds no more grounds in scriptur than episcopacy hath. Are not all men equally subject to

Christ, and capable alike of his divine influences? and so indeed it is said of the times of Christianity. *And they shall be all taught of God.* How then com other teachers to intrude betwixt us and God, to obstruct and taint and variously infect his light: those upon whom the Holy Ghost descended were all lay men, as we be, and som of them women too. But as soon as the *Presbyterian* turning upon him called him fanatick; the *Protestant* cried, In neither barrel better herring, ye are both so. It was presently replied by them both, when did the spirit leav us to speak unto you? by what light or scriptur can you make that good, you that are blinded in your own errours. The *Catholick* coming by, When theeves fall out, quoth he, honest men may hope to com to their own goods again.

§. 14.

Protestant pro and con.

WHat advantage then can the pious *Quaker* have against the zealous *Presbyterian*, or both of them against the honest *Protestant*, whiles all of them find words enough out of scriptur and reasons thence deduced, to throw at one another; and each side is both disputant and moderatour, both opponent and maister of the chair, both interpreter and judg. The Roman catholick I do not here mention; for

for he taking *Him* for his guide and judg from whom he firſt received his ſcriptur and faith, and expecting all reſolutions of doubts only from his lips, can never ſtagger or fall into perplexity. But with *Proteſtant*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, whoſe utmoſt reſolv is in their own hands, the caſe is otherwayes. And the combat that is amongſt them is the moſt deſperat imaginable; whiles any viſible ſpeaking judg being excluded by them all, each one fights againſt all the reſt with the ſame topick ratiocinations, that none but he that uſes them muſt judg; *Scriptur is for us, ſcriptur is eaſy and we have it, the ſpirit that is in us teaches all truth, the light from above is only to direct us, and not men who are lyers*, &c. And theſe if they prevail, overthrow him that uſes them: ſo that to the ſame combatant muſt needs happen by the ſame means both death and victory; and the ſame autorities and argumentations if any of them obtain his deſire, muſt bear both a probability for him and a prejudice againſt him. Thus the *Proteſtant*, if he do or will pretend to convince the *Presbyterian*, then muſt he at the ſame time and for the ſame reaſons yield to the *Roman Catholick* with whoſe diſcourſe and arguments he flouriſhes and triumphs againſt him; and yet being uttered from the mouths and pens of *Catholicks* againſt himſelf, he contemned and jeered them. And

if the *Presbyterian* texts and reasons be of force against the *Protestant*, then must the *Protestant* fall by that instrument by which himself stands and subsists against the *Papist*; against whom he hath ever used those very assertions and arguments; and the *Presbyterian* too must stand and fall upon the same account, the same weapon laying him dead before the *Independent*, which against the *Protestant* supports him. The *Independent*, if he be able by strength of his light and spirit, to maintain himself against all his foregoers, *Presbyterian*, *Protestant* and *Papist*; then by the same reasons must he needs fall when a new fansy rises by any succeeding generation. A strange case and indeed a meer riddle, but a certain truth. And the *Catholick* all this while to a disinterested understanding, whiles all his enemies condemn one another, stands uncontroulably justified in his oppositions to them. The *Independent* is in the wrong saith the *Presbyterian* and *Protestant*; the *Presbyterian* erres, saith the *Protestant* and *Independent*; the *Protestant* is deceived, saith the *Independent* and *Presbyterian*; you are all mad men, quoth the Roman *Catholick*, you first abused and supplanted me, and now by the same wayes and means you do supplant and abuse one another.

But if I may interpose my judgment, the *Protestant*, although I honour his gravity a-

bove

bove the reſt, ſeems to be in a wors caſe than either *Presbyterian* or *Independent*: for theſe in maintaining themſelvs and their wayes, do but ſtrike home the firſt principles of Proteſtant reformation; wheras the *Prelate-Proteſtant*, to defend himſelf againſt them, is forced to make uſe of thoſe very principles which himſelf aforetime when he firſt conteſted againſt popery deſtroyed; as be the difference betwixt *clergy* and *laiety*, the efficacy of epiſcopal *ordination*, the autority of a *viſible Church* which all are to obey, and the like: ſo that upon him falls moſt heavily even like thunder and lightning from heaven, utterly to kill and cut him aſunder, that great oracle delivered by S. *Paul* in his letter he wrote to the Chriſtians of Galatia, *Si quæ deſtruxi iterum hæc ædifico, prævaricatorem me conſtituo.* "If I build up again "the things I formerly deſtroyed, I make my "ſelf a prevaricatour, an impoſtour, a repro-"bate. A heavy ſentence. But truth will out, and wiſdom will be juſtified at long running even by her greateſt adverſaries. It ſeems that thoſe pieces of popery we ſo deſperately inveiged againſt for our own intereſt, were indeed not evil but good.

The *Proteſtant* may indeed with ſome plauſible ſhow excuſe himſelf, and ſay, that the firſt *Reformers* though ſent from God, yet might they notwithſtanding have ſome little

mixtur of human paſſion and infirmity, and ſo out do their work, and decry more than in truth they ought to have don; as he that would ſtraighten a crooked wand, bends it as much the other way, to the end that by that over force it may at length recover its mediocrity and ſtraightnes: and what ever is done amiſs by earneſtneſs of paſſion, may by a ſecond thought be mended. And this excuſe would find place in any buſines of human concernment, but whether it may be of any weight in affairs of religion and divine faith, I leav others to judg; for what may be pretended by all unto endles changes, can never be rightly ſaid by any: and S. *Paul* having aſſigned that property as a ſignal mark of a *prevaricatour*, I ſhould think we may beleeve it without further diſpute.

However by the reaſſuming of this epiſcopacy, be it the ſubſtance or ſhadow of *Popery* or what you pleas, our Engliſh Proteſtant Church became by that means the very beſt and choiceſt flower of all the Reformation: no order, no decency, no peace, no uniformity, in all the world where Proteſtancy was received, like unto that we here enjoyed under our biſhops in *England*: nor could any man by the force of nature ſuſpect any the leaſt rottennes in the foundation of ſuch a handſom fabrick; I am ſure I had not, but by a ſtrang chance

chance that happened to me in my childhood.

And although our *Prelate-Proteſtant* is not able to anſwer the *Presbyterian* objection, ſtanding upon his own firſt principles of *reformation*, which do indeed and ever will juſtify all revolts to the worlds end; yet by the principles of his *Recovery*, thoſe I mean by which he reaſſumed Epiſcopacy too precipitouſly decried by the firſt Reformers, which principles be firm and good andright Chriſtianity, he will eaſily fruſtrat and diſſolv all oppoſition, but then he muſt creep into the boſom of Roman Catholicks, and beg the aſſiſtance of their arguments which before he fooliſhly contemned. For every Body be it what it will, natural, politick or ſpiritual muſt ſo long as it remains entire and ſound, have the ſame principal parts and organs it was born withal, and cannot endure long even in a contrary poſtur of them without diſſolution and ruin. Take any kingdom that is ſettled in monarchy, and if you endeavour once the ſubverſion of that Polity, you do at the ſame time take away the life of all her laws and rights, and utterly diſturb her happines and peace, which are ſo mixed and intangled in the very nerves and ſinews of her laws, and theſe again ſo ſettled upon the polity, as upon the prime innate influent calid and radical primogeneal Humid, that all goes together, and take part alike either in weal or

woe. This truth we have had a ſad experience of in the time of our late civil warres, wherin our Monarchy once ſubverted we all periſhed with it, and our rights and welfare at ſuch a loſs, that no man could ſay that aught he had remaining was his own. It muſt needs be ſo; for the government what ever it be, is before the laws; and the laws receiv all their ſtrength and vigour from the acknowledged autority of that power from whence they are derived.

Now that the Chriſtian Church was firſt monarchicall under one Sovereign *Byſhop*, when *Chriſt* who founded it was upon earth, no man will deny; for ariſtocracy or democracy it could not be, ſith all his twelve apoſtles were under him as his diſciples, and not fellow doctours or legiſlatours with him: nor did he ever pretend to receiv his autority from men but immediately from God above, unto whom he was perſonally united; and this autority of his muſt firſt be accepted before his word can be believed or his law acknowledged: and theſe muſt have all their force from that power which according to its firmitude of truth gives them all their life and vigour, which remains and dies with it and with the government under which the laws and doctrin began. It appears then that all the laws and rules and promiſes and whole doctrin of Chriſtianity are founded upon the ſpirituall monarchy of Jeſus who was

Man-

Man-God; that he might be both unto human kind a fit and proportioned head as *man*; and uncontroulable, independent, and infallible as *God*. And hence it must needs follow, that the subversion of episcopacy, which is the spiritual monarchy in which our Lord founded his Church, must needs weaken and by degrees utterly destroy all faith; for the ruin of the polity is the death of all its laws founded in it.

Nor will it suffice, if an *Independent* or *Presbyterian* say, that they are still under their head *Christ*, who being in heaven hath his spirituall influences over them: I say this suffices not; for the true Church of Christ whersoever it is, must have the very same head she had at first, or else she cannot be the same body, and that head was *Man-God* personally present in both his natures with the body of his Church here on earth. And although Christ may and does supply the invisible part of his Godhead influence upon his mystick body; yet a visible head or byshop if the Church hath not now over her, as at first she had, she is not the same she was, and consequently in the way to ruin What then, you will say, cannot God preserv his Church without the help of man? I answer we must not here dispute what God can do, but what he will do. God can warm the earth, and make fruits to grow, and us to see without the sun: but if he have otherwise ordained, we must

muſt expect thoſe effects from the caus he hath ſet, and no other wayes. And that all truths are to be expected from his Church, and from him he hath ſubſtituted in his place to govern as the chief viſible Paſtour, is manifeſtly apparent, both by his own law, and practis, and our experience: By his law, when he ſayes, that he who will not hear his Church muſt be as a publican and reprobate; by his practis, when he would not have his own ſupernatural vocation and endowment and light from heaven to ſuffice St. *Paul* either to make him a Chriſtian, or a Teacher, till he had received both from the hands of his Church and paſtors; by our experience, while we ſee from age to age, that all thoſe that withdraw themſelves from the Catholick Church and from her chief Byſhop and paſtour, let the occaſion be what it will or never ſo little, do run themſelves reſtleſly into endles ſchiſms, denying one thing after another, ſtill from leſs to more, till at length all Chriſtianity be cancelled; and beginning with ſchime they end with atheiſme; all truth unity and peace being to be had onely from and in that one Church, which as St. *Paul* does well and wiſely call it Chriſts body, ſo is it only animated with his ſpirit of truth; and from the government there appointed which is epiſcopal; and in a ſpecial manner from the chief paſtour there preſiding, ruling and directing in place

place of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom all obey in yielding obeyſance unto him in ſpiritual affairs. according to his own order and appointment. Nor is ther any more certain rule of diſcerning the approaching ruin of Chriſtianity in any perſon or people, than when we ſee them either ſecretly to undermine or openly to oppugn papal autority. He that intends ill to the whole body, be he man or beaſt, will generally aſſault the head; but he that invades the head, cannot but in prudence be interpreted to intend ill to the whole body.

This being once well pondered, as a thing of ſuch weighty concernment deſervs; we ſhall begin both to ſuſpect that the firſt reformers *Luther* and *Calvin*, who being Prieſts under that Papal hierarchy flew out againſt the Church whereof they had been members, and furiouſly cryed down both Pope and all epiſcopacy, were not ſent from God: and likewiſe conclude, that the counſel of Queen *Elizabeth* did wiſely reaſſume that ancient form of Church-government, though it were oppoſite to the principles of reformation and judgment of all the firſt reformers; becaus it was both moſt conformable to times of primitive Chriſtianity, and in all reaſon moſt likely to conſerv the land in unity. And if we wer once by Gods grace freed from preconceived prejudice, we ſhould all of us as clearly ſee and love

the

the beauty of papal doctrin, as now som of us allow of papal government: nor is ther any thing commendable in any reformation, but that and only that, which it hath in it of Popery: And lastly we shall easily discern that the Presbyterian plea and all its arguments, or whatever els they can have to say against episcopacy, are of no value, and indeed too slight for me to insist upon their solution.

I had a mind here to decipher the *Protestants* plea against the *Papist*; but I find that ther cannot be made any one scheme of it, as of the *Independent* and *Presbyterians*; becaus these, the first of them speaks so generally of all things, that he seldom touches upon any one particular, the other so insists upon one particular, that he troubles himself with nothing els; and a man may know what both of them would have. But all these, and several other reformations when they set their face against the *Roman Catholick*, go all under the general name of *Protestants*; and yet speak several and contradictory things, one accusing them for that which the other approves. And generally they do neglect their doctrin, and inveigh against the vices and follies which either they put upon them, or are indeed found amongst som people or persons that do profes that faith in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* or other parts; as pride, tyranny, drunkennes, leachery, fooliſh gambols,

bols, and uſages of Countreys; with which Proteſtant books againſt popery are luſtily ſtuft up; or if they do indeed ſpeak to their doctrin, it is either don only with ſom witty jeſt and jeer, and ſo having given it a flap with a fox tail they paſs on ſoberly to other matters in hand, as is commonly don in the pulpits of witty preachers; or if they handle it more ſeriouſly, they do either for their own advantage miſtake the doctrin, or the proofs they bring againſt it, whether through fraud or ignorance 'tis hard to ſay: and the foundations of catholick religion, which be tradition and ſcriptur, they do ſo variouſly expound in ſeveral times and places, that one text ſhall have twenty ſeveral interpretations, which if they be not catholick paſs all for good; here and at one time an autority of a father or councel ſhall be accepted and diverſly interpreted, in another time and place quite reiected; now one piece of catholick doctrin ſhall be vehemently cryed down, and at another time taken up again and maintained; and at one and the ſame time in ſeveral parts of the world twenty points for example of catholick faith ſhall all of them be ſomwhere received and ſomwhere rejected amongſt *Proteſtants*: for they being ſtill their own maiſters, may choos and throw away what they pleas, and as long as they liſt, without controul; wheras the *Romans* keeping ſtill one

and

and the ſame treaſury of religion and faith afford matter for them all either to take or leav, either to approve or laugh at as they liſt; as a well furniſhed table affords wanton children both what they may feed upon themſelvs, and what being full they may ſpoil and play with, and caſt to the dogs.

§. 15.
Scriptur.

AND whence com all theſe diviſions? only from this, that every man hath a reaſon, an interpretation, a light, a ſpirit of his own, by which the bible which is now in all mens hands is made to ſpeak what we pleas, and our thoughts and tongues are our own, what lord ſhall us controul. This is a ſad caſe: while all of us, upon thoſe only motives which all men may take up at any time to abuſe his innocent neighbour, proceed to mutual hoſtility without end. The very books that have been written againſt Roman catholick this laſt hundred years, as they be furious and virulent, ſo be they alſo ſo many and various that they would if they were all brought together fill up the Tower of London; and by them have people been inflamed to ſuch a height againſt the *Romans*, that their bodies, dignities, honours, fame, houſes, and goods have been ineffably haraſſed to this day.

day. And yet no body can ſay what ill that religion ever did in the world, until *Henry* the eights dayes, when it was firſt rejected and perſecuted; and when we have laid them in the duſt, we flye upon one other, and pull and tear upon the ſame motiv all that ſtands in our light. Reflect countrimen upon your ſelvs; ſhall we continue in a conteſt, that can never poſſibly be ended; and being proſecuted to the utmoſt muſt needs infer a general ruin upon all? for whatſoever we ſay againſt any one, may be ſaid by any other againſt our ſelves, and proved by the ſame argument; and the ſame thing may be don to us upon the ſame account we do it to another.

All appellation to a viſible judg is by Anti-catholicks jointly excluded; and to the Roman catholick with whom unity hath ever dwelt we will not return; nor can it be yet expected, for the general diſrepute unto that way hath ſo filled our ears and hearts, that hating the very name of *Papiſt*, we have not power to conſider ſoberly what their religion may be. Nay we are verily perſwaded even from our nurſes milk, that *Proteſtants* are the onely profeſſors, and *Papiſts* enemies to the goſpel; although to all the world beſides, the goſpel is well enough known to be the Roman catholicks own and ſole religion, by which they walked and lived here in England many hundred years unto a fruit-

fruitfulnes of all good works, before Proteſtancy appeared: and we pretend to fight againſt them only for the goſpel, and with the goſpel, whiles they forſooth are beleeved to have nothing at all to defend themſelvs, but a little traditional trumpery of mans inventions, with a greater heap of vices of their own. And upon this account proceed all our books that are written againſt *Papiſts* and *popery*; in effect like unto that picture that was carried not long ago up and down the Proteſtant world, wherin was drawn a fair Ballance as a type of the two religions, in whoſe left hand ſcale hanged beads, girdles, cardinals caps, monks hoods, fryars cowles, diſciplines, croſſes, to ſignifie *Popery*; in the other a fair great Bible to ſignifie *Proteſtancy*; which hanging upon the ground quite weighed up the other ſcale into the air as light as very vanity. And ſo credulous is the generality of mankind, that by ſuch toies as theſe, we are carried away unto not onely a diſlike but even the higheſt deteſtation and contempt of a ſacred religion, without further examination. But what do I ſpeak of the generality of the vulgar! Even our ſober and moſt judicious men, who in other things ſpeak and think like oracles, in this buſines of *Popery* are not abaſhed to ſpeak like children that talk of hobgoblings in the dark; ſo prevalent is a prejudice brought upon us by the

the virulent impreſſion of often iterated calumnies. Nor are we able by the reſtraint of this great prejudice either to read the books, or ponder ſerioufly the reaſons of our catholick neighbours for their faith. Yea I have heard ſom Proteſtants in other things moſt wiſe and judicious to ſay openly, that as for Papiſts he loved their perſons, but their religion he hated in his heart: the reaſon is clear, he knew the one and not the other. If they had known what I have experienced they would have admired and loved the religion, tho they might have cauſe to diſlike ſome of thoſe that profeſs it.

And as we do all of us by this old imbibed prejudice deteſt *Popery* though we know not what it is; ſo by any new-received diſlike, when we have once bodied with any one faction we revile all the reſt. And none will yield to another; although in all reaſon that religion that hath precedency of time with all the other helps any junior way can pretend unto, might one would think have ſo much if not precedency yet equality of reſpect, as not to be by a way that is new in the world ſo bitterly reviled; eſpecially when all that venemous bitternes which by any junior ſect is caſt upon his foregoer, may and is as heavily thrown upon himſelf by his ſucceſſour. But thus rancour and malice ſpreads abroad in our hearts and whole

kingdom, againſt his rule and doubtles to his great diſpleaſur who carefully obliged us to the contrary rules of love. And, which is to be lamented, the firſt ſours and origin of all theſe defamations is the pulpit, where both by word and example we are taught to defame and hate even thoſe we do not know. We may fear ſom great curs lies upon our poor nation for theſe our unnatural diſorders, even ſo far as to blind us, that we cannot ſee the truth. Unto his dogs ſet upon their devouring ſport even *Acteon* the maiſter may ſeem a ſtag, and be torn a pieces by them. Wrath puts a new ſhape upon an adverſary, who through ſuch a black *medium*, though he be never ſo innocent in himſelf, will appear all odious; eſpecially when the wrath is unjuſt and the occaſion of it taken but not given; for then 'tis curſed, and works marvellous dark effects in the heart of him that bears it. And by this we may ſuſpect our ſelves to be blaſted with ſuch an unwarrantable paſſion, when upon a conceived prejudice of our own we do more hate thoſe have done us good, than ſuch as really hurt us. I cannot but take notice, that our learned *proteſtant*, theſe many years he hath by the *puritan* been outed of his eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, wrote little or nothing againſt him and with no conſiderable violence; but moſt virulent books he put forth continually againſt the *Papiſt*, who did him no harm

and

and meddled not at all with him, and then hanged with him upon the same crois of perſecution, and might juſtly reply unto him as the good thief to the evil one, *Nunquid tu non Deum times qui in eadem damnatione es.*

And what evil hath the *Proteſtant* ever received from the *Roman-catholick* that he ſhould treat him thus? even none at all, but all good imaginable: The *Proteſtant* hath been inſtructed in his Univerſities (for Oxford and Cambridg were both of them built by *Catholicks* as well as the cathedrals and pariſh Churches) he hath lived all his life upon their benefices, ſtudies their books, preaches in their pulpits even that goſpel which he had from catholick archives; this is the harm the *Catholick* ever did, or the *Proteſtant* received from him; and yet, Lord what volumes of invectives do we pour forth even to this day againſt him who hath don us all good and never any harm at all, neglecting in a manner the true adverſary who hath utterly undon us. Is not this a piece of phrenſy, what can one think it els, when any nips us behinde to fly into the face and ſcratch him that innocently ſtands before us, our maiſter and benefactor. But the *Proteſtant* ſeeing that outrage don unto him, which he had don to Catholicks before, upon the very ſame motives, and with the like words and deeds, might fear perhaps that himſelf ſhould

now appear juſtly puniſhed, and the Catholick at length be juſtified.

But let us ſee a little further, if our hot conteſting combatants can find any rational medium to conclude demonſtrativly, or maintain infallibly, or know certainly any thing at all concerning points of religion, If they cannot they have ſom reaſon to be ſilent, none to quarrel; either one with another, or all of them againſt the Roman catholick.

The wayes and practis of a viſible foregoing Church is concluded by a general conſent of all, the Catholick onely excepted, to be erroneous; antiquity of former ages overwhelmed with Egyptian darknes; concilliary meetings of byſhops and paſtours a conſpiracy againſt purity of goſpel; and the Pope who was anciently beleeved ſole judg and general paſtour over all, a grand ſeducer: and now ſcripture though it be wreſted out of the hands of Papiſts, that ſomthing might be held by us which is plauſible, muſt be not the truth only, but the ſole judg of it too. This is it we all pretend to ſtand upon. Be it then admitted for truth, who has the right meaning of it? the Roman catholick, who hath lived by it now above ſixteen hundred years in all unanimity, or the Proteſtant who wreſting it out of catholick hands about one hundred years ago hath ever ſince been conteſting and quarrelling about it, not only with the catholick but amongſt

amongst themselvs even to this present day. The gospel is no doubt a good rule, but if we for our own ends to avoid the judgment of any tribunal upon earth do constitute our selves, each one the sole speaking judg by that rule, we do thereby make our selves both judg and rule too; for it is all one, to arbitrate with a mans own words, or to do it with another bodies words which he without controul will interpret: and thus excluding one judg whom we found in actual possession of the chair we set up a thousand, who will determin more rashly and yet as resolutely as he, and we still further off from any final conclusion than before. Do we not see this to be true by the daily fresh uprise of so many several sects, which do all promote themselvs by vertue of the same pretens. These twenty years last past the zealots who preached so vehemently against our innocent good King all the land over, did they not all find a text in scripture for their purpos; and not only one text to preach upon, but hundred others to elucidate and confirm their doctrin: which notwithstanding all wise men knew were not taken in their own genuin sens and meaning; and yet who could convince them of that, who had as much light within, and without too, as all Protestancy ever taught sufficient for judgment even against him who first sent us the scriptur and was then found in actual possession of the

chair: and a Proteſtant that ſhould have gone about to confute them, muſt have denied the principles by which he was himſelf firſt conſtituted. Com, com, 'tis more than manifeſt by all our proceedings this hundred years, that our bitter invectives againſt the Pope who ſwayed Chriſtianity had no other end but only this, that we might all ſway, and none of us be controuled.

I would fain know if I ſhould deny the great fundamental upon which all religion is built; namely that the ſoul of man is an immortall ſubſtance, and diſtinct not only from the groſſer tangible parts, but even from the very beſt and pureſt both animal and vital ſpirits; which without doubt be mortal, and that there is any other world for men to paſs into after this life of mutability; whether I could not ſufficiently proue my negative out of ſcriptur, making uſe of all the advantages of ſemiſentences, parables, figures, ſtories, tropes, with as much reaſon, light and ſpirit, and as equal plauſibility, as any ſect deduces their tenets: and ſo another likewiſe, who ſhould hold that heaven and the world to com, is nothing but a condition of ſerenity in this life; a fourth that there is no hell, angels, or divels, &c. ſith there is no tribunal to judg, who can outbrave any ſuch defendant when he faces his antagoniſt with the light of a text, which none but himſelf muſt underſtand.

Scriptur

Scriptur muſt do all, by that light all walk, how many ſoever ſeveral gainſaying paths they tread. I will no further conteſt about the meaning of it: What is this Scripture? *It is Gods word.* But you had it not immediately from God, but found it in other mens hands, all whom from one *ſeries* to another till you come to the Pope who firſt ſent it us, we have all aforetime concluded to be liars; ſo that you muſt take it then upon the credit of thoſe who by your own principles may as well deceiv you as you me. Can you tell who wrote that book? O yes, you name me preſently twenty ſeveral perſons, which you can no more prove to be authours of the books, than any thing contained in the writings, although their names may be there prefixed. Thoſe perſons at leaſt as they were men of ſeveral conditions, prieſts, kings, lawyers, poets, hiſtorians, fiſhermen, doctours, ſo did they live in ſeveral times and places of the world, and differ both in theſe things and alſo in their very ſtile and manner of writing as much as any can do. A brachman in *India* teacher of morallity two thouſand years ago, *William* the conqueror King of *England* ſix hundred years ago dictatour of our law, and our Sir *Kenelm Digby* Knight and Philoſopher, lately authour of a Natural Philoſophy when he ſojourned in *France*; do theſe three differ any more then St. *John*, *Moſes* and

Salomon, either for time, place, condition, or ſtile of writing? I trow not: how then came all thoſe with ſo much diverſity of their own to write the word of God more than theſe; and how they and no other? Who firſt gave them their autority? or was it given or only declared, and by what power and vertue could it be declared by any that knew them not, and lived ſo long after them? How com laws, poems, ſermons, hiſtories, letters, viſions, ſo many ſeveral fanſies in ſuch diverſity of compoſure to be dictated from one divine hand? and how do they conſpire together in ſuch variety of times to make at length one volum of Faith?

And yet too, they muſt not all be either of ſignification or validity, juſt as they lie and ſound; but ſome in this manner, ſome in that. Moſes law muſt not bind in its judicial or ceremonial part, which makes up in a manner all the whole Pentateuch, but onely in the truth of ſtory and morality: ſome books muſt be taken according to the literal ſenſe, and not in any myſtical one, ſome in the myſtery and not the letter, and ſom again according to both. What ſhall guide us in theſe things? a parable muſt not be looked on as a ſtory, nor yet moralliſed in all its parts, but only in the capital intention; no words muſt be culled forth to prove any thing out of the road of his mind and purpos

who

who ſpake them; no axiom of holy writ is to be taken by halves, nor yet in any ſenſe was not thought of by the authour; an objection is not to be propoſed for a concluſion, nor any trope or metaphor perverted; all words muſt ſpeak to the writers ſcope not againſt it, as he made them to do who brought texts againſt veneration of Saints out of St. *Jo. Chryſoſtoms* ſpeeches made expreſly in honour of them, and others againſt monarchy drawn out of the book of *Kings*; and many ſuch like cautions there be, I cannot now think of. What autority or rule ſhall conduct us in all theſe uncertainties? The Catholick indeed has one by which he paſſes on uniformly and quietly in the courſe of his religion, as the ſun in the firmament without noiſe or trouble, but others jumble and juſtle one againſt another like coaches in a ſtreet. *O the Scripture and truth therin contained will diſcover it ſelf.* Does it not very fairly? whiles we are all of us together by the ears, not for the Bible, but with it. *You muſt beleev.* What ſhould I beleev and why? I expect a perſwaſion to beleev, not a command; and to hear not that I muſt beleev but what; and not onely what to credit, but why and wherfor. *O but you may diſcern in theſe writings the very marks of Gods hand appearing.* Though there be ſuch marks, yet it ſeems by our many diviſions we cannot read of our ſelves what thoſe marks would

would have, or what Church and doctrin they would eſtabliſh: and to whom can thoſe marks appear to be Gods, but to them only who have ſeen Gods hand aforetime, or ſtood by him when he wrote. *Porphirius* was as good a marks-man and underſtanding Philoſopher as perhaps ever was, and yet he deſerted Chriſtianity and all the whole Bible for want of the marks of divinity in it, as others for the ſame reaſon have at times rejected many particular books; I juſtifie neither him nor them, but only ſpeak thus much to ſhow how inſtable a thing man is, when he relyes upon his own judgment. And have not we known wicked hypocrites to ſpeak as fine words as any be in ſcriptur, and by thoſe their marks to deceiv many? and I doubt not but Antichriſt when he appears will do ſo too.

But how came this book into *England?* for it was not it ſeems any part of it written here? It was brought hither, you will ſay, at the lands firſt converſion, all of it togther in one volume. If this be true, as true indeed it is, then we had it from the *Roman Patriarch*, whether we ſpeak of the converſion of Engliſhmen or Brittons. And ſhall I build my beleef upon the autority of a book, if indeed it could make it out, ſent us from him, whom our own miniſters do publickly proclaim to be an Impoſtour and Antichriſt? or can I in reaſon ſo condemn him, and

not

not ſuſpect it? If he did not onely preſent it us, but made his catholick beleevers with ſo much labour and induſtry to tranſcribe it all the world over before printing was invented, as a ſacred and venerable thing; a man might think in reaſon ther were ſomthing in it to favour him and his religion, which being once accepted under the notion of divine writings, men would not eaſily dare to contradict, and nothing at all againſt him. *O but the Pope did not make the book, nor any of his predeceſſours.* This is more than either you or I can prove, ſith that book ſo much of it as belongs to Chriſtianity, was never found in our countrey, but as taken and ſent from him; and it is no hard matter to make a book for my own ends, and for its ampler autority to father it upon ſome renowned perſon, the better to promote my deſign. Truly ſuch places as ſpeak ſo plainly the Churches autority, the reall preſence, abſolution of ſins by man, epiſcopal government, and the like Papal doctrin: are apt enough to ſuggeſt ſuch thoughts; and ſome of our firſt reformers upon that very account did ſhrewdly ſuſpect, and were not afraid to ſay it, that the Pope had at leaſt a finger in many ſuch like places; which he might in their opinion eaſily do, when he had once overwhelmed the earth with his miſts of errour, and made the people ſo credulous, that he might do what he pleaſed.

pleaſed. And if I do indeed think the Pope to be Antichriſt and a ſeducer, I cannot rationally beleev or truſt unto any book he ſends me, more than I do to his doctrin which he ſayes is there grounded; ſith I have indeed but his word for the autority of both. And let me once give a freedom to my thoughts, I ſhall as ſoon queſtion one as the other; and if I do reject one proceeding rationally I muſt caſhier the other alſo. Surely the Pope cannot but ſmile, to ſee his Book which is the ground and guide of the catholick faith he delivered with it, to be made by the Proteſtant to ſpeak proteſtantiſme, preſbyteriſme by the Presbyterian, anabaptiſme by the Anabaptiſt, and quakeriſme by the Quaker; even as doubtles it would be a ſport to *Virgil*, if he were alive, to ſee his *Arma virumque cano* turned epithalamiſt by one, a prophetiſt by another, an evangeliſt by a third, whereas the poem it ſelf intends none of theſe things, but onely the travels and wars of *Eneas*; and doubtles our ſcripture it ſelf might be made by theſe tricks of wit to ſpeak forth the paſſions of Queen *Dido*. Without all doubt, it is a moſt high inconſequence, ſo paſſionately as we do t' blaſpheme a byſhop, who is and ever was acknowledged in the world for *Pape* or Father of Chriſtianity as the moſt wicked man alive, and a grand ſeducer; and yet to hugge a book in our boſomes which we took at firſt upon his credit

credit as an oracle of truth; and then again first to fall out with him, and then with one another amongst our selves, about the meaning of that book, wherin his own catholick beleevers all the while unanimously agree, without any end pelting one another with texts and verses unto the utter ruin of charity, not understanding for the most either the uncertainty of our own reasonings or the dangerous consequence of our wayes.

I will utter a bold word, but what I know to be true both by experience and irrefragable reason. As the gospel cannot prove any thing being separated from the Church and the living and speaking oracle of him that sent it, unto whose judgment both defendant and disputant must submit; so neither without the help of that autority can it prove it self, either by any argument, which it uses none, or by vertue of miracle recorded in it: sith those signs & wonders there related are now as far from my knowledg as be the truths of any doctrins to be ratified by them: So that I shall have as much ado to beleev them as any piece of doctrin they may confirm; being all of them equally either motives or objects of beleef as I pleas my self. And it is all one to me that am born in these dayes, so long after those signs were wrought, to beleev the miracles by Gods incarnation, or Gods incarnation by the miracles: since I may

beleev

beleev both, but can evidently know neither of them to be true; so far as that I may use one of them as a *medium* to demonstrate the other. If the gospel laid before me should work of it self any strang wonder in my sight, then I might haply have some motiv to beleev it; but we in England inveigh bitterly against the present miracles, that are shown in the catholick Church, ascribing them all, if they be true, unto the operations of Satan; so that according to this way I should not know what to think neither, if the bible should do som strang thing before me, and as little conclude of the past miracles there recorded.

§. 16.

Appeal.

AS it is impossible to be assured that the Bible is the word of God, if we condemn him from whom it first came of impostur; so is it certain, that upon that book wrested out of the hands of catholicks against him and his who first presented it, we ground all the several wayes of religion here in England wherof each body and faction does so far presume as to condemn all to death who will not approve them. And yet, if we did but proceed like rational men, we could not but remain all of us in great humility and fear, upon these surmises. Does not

not the Pope pretend the ſpirit of Chriſt as well as we? do not all catholicks ſo? had we not the bible from them? do they not ratiocinate out of it, and ſhow their religion thence as well as we? only they do it uniformly, we differently; and upon their principles they build up Church and State, we pull down all. Put caſe we were all at this inſtant in our antient ſtate of paganiſm, and a Prieſt or two ſhould com to us from Rome to convert us now as then they did to Chriſtianity, with the goſpel in their hands, which they ſhould tell us to be pure truth and Gods word, which we never heard before: if we ſhould reject and diſeſteem them as cheating ſeducers, could we rationally accept and beleev the book? or would we not therefor caſt into the fire that volum of theirs wherein were contained the ſumme of all their miſſion and news, if we looked upon the men that brought it as impoſtours. Conſider ſeriouſly, and think not to pull the ſnail out of her ſhell, and then to keep one apart, and cruſh the other without which it cannot liv. Church and Goſpel were both born together, but the Church firſt, at leaſt in a priority of nature, and muſt both liv together. Chriſt the head muſt be authoriſed before he could teach, and the Church eſtabliſhed before any of her children could write a goſpel: nor can they with authentick autority write any thing, but what the mother

Church

Church conſtituted by her eſpous the ſours of all heavenly truths that earth can expect, ſhall ſet her ſeal unto. So that in any age to deny the Church and to accept of her writings, to profeſs Chriſt and condemn her that brought us the firſt news of him, is at one and the ſame time to take her autority and reject it; to ſay ſhe is fals and yet true in the ſame affairs. The ſame goſpel ratifies both Chriſt and his Church, the ſame Church both Chriſt and the goſpel, the ſame Chriſt both goſpel and the Church too which himſelf eſtabliſhed. So then; reaſon, light, ſcriptur, power of interpretation being equally to be found at leaſt pretended in all anticatholick wayes; and the Roman catholick although he have withal a ſurpluſage of true and right autority from the Church and her paſtour whom he ever follows, yet ſince he never denied, but ſtrongly and effectuouſly maintained, that he hath with him as much of true interpretation, light and reaſon, as any can pretend; and ſo far more peculiar and excelling, as the judgment of the univerſal Church in all ages from whence he drew that reaſon and light of his, is in matters of religion that are not invented but derived, to be preferred before the conceit of any one perſon, who contrary to the very eſſence and nature of antient Chriſtianity ſhall go out of the Church wherein he found himſelf; it may moſt manifeſtly

feſtly appear, that as the *Catholick* hath all the right and preheminence that any other may pretend for himſelf, and yet a far greater too, even that autority which can onely conſtitute religion; ſo likewiſe all Anticatholicks both *Independent Presbyterian* and *Proteſtant* have the ſame power and advantage each one againſt another which any other may pretend againſt him; ſcripture, eaſy ſcripture, interiour light, and ſpirit; whiles none of them will in the interim admit of any living judg, nor of the autority of a foregoing Church wherein they found themſelvs when they firſt went out and changed. And I have already ſaid and truly ſaid, that no man ever yet was impowred even from heaven to go out of the general flock, but to have recours unto it, nor conſidering the order God hath ſet ever can be. Nor is ther any ſurer rule of diſcerning a fals pretenſion than that of the Apoſtle, *Exierunt ex nobis*, which if it held good in the Church when that Apoſtle was alive, it muſt needs do ſo unto all generations ſo long as the Church remains, by vertue of him who promiſed to confirm it, and therein his deity muſt chiefly appear, even unto the conſummation of the worſd. And if we conſider the firſt ingreſs of all theſe religions, we ſhall find that the *catholick faith* entred our land firſt, and chaſed hence our ancient paganiſme; after it had been here exiſtent a thouſand years the

Proteſtant went forth out of it, the Puritan by and by out of the *Proteſtant*, not to mention any further ſubdiviſion; and the catholick religion entered by vertue of her own powerful integrity, all the others by force either of Parliament or Sword: that Church as ſhe entered peaceably ſo ſhe remained quietly all the time of her ſtay in the Kingdom, but the others neither ſtay nor enter without diſturbance; ſhe hath a rule to go by and a judg to ſubmit unto in all affairs; others as they will be their own judg, ſo muſt the rule ſpeak as they liſt and no otherwiſe; which manner of proceeding, if it have its free cours, muſt needs work much diſorder in a kingdom.

I have often marvelled that theſe various wayes of religion here in England, which multiply without end or any hope of reconciliation, have not all this while appealed to the ſacred majeſty of the *King*, who hath been acknowledged by all the parties, to be ſupreme in all his kingdoms as well in ſpirituals as temporals, and head as well of the Church as State: Certainly had this been don, and that all had reſted upon his verdict, as they ought by reaſon of their own acknowledgment to do, much miſchief had been prevented. But we were ſo far all of us from doing ſo, that on the contrary firſt we ſecretly murmured againſt both Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and then broke forth into

to open hostility against his son. Indeed that private swelling of the murmuring waters, were an ill boding omen of the vast tempest which followed afterwards in the reign of our good King *Charls*; with so dismal and violent a rage that it both split the ship and drowned our Pilot. We did not appeal then with submission to his judgment, as by our own law and agreement upon our revolt from Popery we ought to have don, but forced him imperiously to our own; and when in right reason he could not consent unto it, we made no conscience to destroy and cut off not so much his head as our own: which being a singular unparallel'd piece of insolent cruelty never yet acted before upon earth, it will remain an eternal blemish both upon the men and religion too so long as the world lasteth. Did we sincerely think our King to be head as well of Church as of State? how then durst we subjugate him to our selves in the affairs of both; and under pretens of purity of religion oppress him, from whom under God all our religion should be derived as the head and sours of it.

The body may prepare blood and vital spirits to be presented to the head; but of these are not made animal spirits, till the head receivs and makes them such for the good of the whole; and from the head com down all those influences that be fitted and proportioned unto

that life which the animal lives. So may and ought every kingdom, either apart or in Parliament assemblies, to propose affairs unto their head, but can take none as authentick till he have determined and derived them to us whether civil or spiritual; if he be head of both, resting quiet within our selves both before and after he hath don it: for what hand or foot ever questioned the spirits which the head derived it; or pretended either to mend or make them. But we have by these our proceedings condemned our selves, if we do not indeed think him our spiritual head as we profess in words, of vile hypocrisie; if we do beleev him so, of inconsequent madnes. But to remove the Pope, the King is head with us, and to remove the King the people is head, and to remove one another each particular person is his own head. So arbitrary a thing it is with us, to set up and pull down power at our pleasur.

It would seem very strang to a rational man, that the *Pope*, who is in our esteem the worst of men, should keep together the people of many kingdoms, which as they be not at all subject to him in civil affairs, so are they very divers among themselves, both in habits, manners, language, lawes, and other weighty respects and inclinations, in a constant unity of religion from age to age: and yet a noble vertuous prudent *King* should not be able to do so much among

among his own ſubjects all of one guarb, one law, one language, for one age together: the *Pope* all the while we beleev to be a fals and onely pretended Head, the *King* an acknowledged and true one. This is a great ſecret: and yet greater too upon this account, that if any ſhould fall away from the Popes religion, the apoſtate runs himſelf into no more danger upon that account, than what he willingly brings upon himſelf, the loſs of further communion with him and his Church; for the Popes excommunication ſignifies no more, and all the Pope can do is but to excommunicate him, who before by his own voluntary act put himſelf out of his communion. But the King hath a temporal ſword in his hand to take corporal revenge upon rebellion and apoſtacy, and the people ſubject to him in faith are likewiſe ſubject in other temporal reſpects, and by their rebellion againſt him hazzard their eſtates and lives.

I know well enough that Popes are generally as civil and accompliſhed gentlemen as be in Europe, and for the moſt part very learned; yet can I never beleev but that there be others in the Chriſtian world, both prieſts, doctours, and byſhops as learned as the pope himſelf, and as wiſe too and accompliſht perſons in any perfections either natural or moral; and yet can none but He, hit upon this feat of guiding the

Christian flock in unity and peace. Nay, which yet augments the wonder, take any one kingdom under his spiritual jurisdiction, and they shall remain a hundred yea thousand years, in all peace and unity upon religions acount: But let that kingdom once divide and separate from him; and presently all those very self-same byshops who before in their subordination to the Pope easily mannaged the peoples consciences, and kept them in a most orderly peaceablenes, not know in their separation from him, which way to turn themselves, but that heresies and schismes will rise and augment themselves without end in despight of all their power and endeavours, as if unity truth and peace were tied to the Popes chair. Those that understand not catholick religion, have stood many of them exceedingly amazed at this consideration, and not without caus: for whence can this happen? It is not becaus Popes are all saints and only they; for the venerable and renowned priests under him, and great multitudes of people about him in all nations, which shine like stars in the firmament, may be without controul as good and holy many of them as himself: and although Popes be for the most part very good, civil and discreet men; yet if it should happen, that som one be no better than he should, yet even that man shall be as zealous of unity in religion, and preserv it as exactly as the

the beſt; which exalts our wonderment unto ſuch a height, that we are even forced to acknoledge, that there is ſom great ſecret in his buſineſs not eaſily to be reſolved: for all other byſhops and princes the more worldly and ſenſual they be, the leſs care have they of their flock and people. If we ſhall ſay, that theſe be the great powers of God upon him, the doubt is at an end; and a reaſon appears why people do fear ſo much to be excluded his communion: if this be not admitted, I am at a loſs, and can find no reaſon, why a good king and true head of his Church, if himſelf or the people can make him ſo, ſhould not be able by his acknowledged autority and ſword to keep his own ſubjects in an unity of faith and peace, as well as a bad Pope (for ſo we beleev them all to be) and pretended head, keeps together other mens ſubjects of different manners and languages, without ſword or axe or corporal rods, only by the meer love of his communion and fear they have to loſe it.

Nor can we ſay that new opinions about religion are never broacht among catholiks: for this as it cannot be expected amongſt ſo many millions of great wits and ſpirits that be amongſt them up and down the world; ſo is it ſo far from being true, that all the hereſies that have roſe in Chriſtianity were invented ever by ſome catholick, I mean that had been formerly ſuch,

(for his oppoſition to and apoſtacy from his general Paſtour makes him ceas to be catholick any longer) and generally by prieſts, who preferring their own judgments before their paſtours and the tradition they had hitherto walked by, in the pride of their hearts led people after them out of the fold of the Church. And whoever does ſo, puts himſelf by his own autority *in locum Petri*, and is to be looked upon by all good Catholicks who have care of their own ſalvation as a dangerous guide. Thus did firſt begin our own Proteſtancy by *Martin Luther*, *Calvin*, and other fallen Prieſts. And the fall of murmuring *Judas* from the colledg of apoſtles, of conteſting *Adam* and *Eve* from the bliſs of paradiſe, of diſſenting *Lucifer* and his angels from heaven, who are ſaid to diſpute with *Michael* and his angels, as *Luther* did with *Eckius* and his fellow Catholicks, ſignifie nothing els.

But what does the Pape or Chriſtian Paſtour do in this caſe. When the tumult is once raiſed and a diſorder begun in any part of his flock by ſom proud turbulent ſpirit amongſt them, the Pape firſt whiſtles him and his fellow petulcous rams into order by charitable admonition, which ſtill increaſes lowder by degrees: and if this will not ſerv, but that they will ſtill be refractory, he caſts in his ſhepheards crook amongſt them, and divides the turbulent from the

the peaceful, and so the infection stayes. The disquiet ones being driven out, depart in a rout together; but within a while they separate, and walk by sixes and seavens, and subdivide at length so often, that at last they go single, whiles every sheep amongst them will be a ram, and every ram a shepheard. But the other quiet ones that hear the voice of their shepherd, and follow him in peace as becoms sheep to do, enjoy all happiness and spiritual content amongst themselvs to the unspeakable comfort of their souls, under him whom Christ the great Messias hath set over them: and this is called the *Catholik Flock*, which for the love they bear to their honoured pastour and πάππα we commonly call *Papists*; and somtimes, becaus they will not forsake either their shepheard or divine pastours of truth and sacraments wherein they have been brought up, when we would speak more civilly, we call them *Recusants*.

If any one shall think I speak too much in favour of catholick religion, let such know that I favour nothing but truth and peace: and it is the part of an ingenuous and well bred nature to support what he can the weaker side; especially if he know it to be innocent and injuriously oppreſt, as it often happens in this world that the stronger in right may be the weaker in repute. Nor can any fewd amongst us ever be ended, which is the thing I aim at,

so

ſo long as errour and injuſtice are maintained. And altho we quarrel furiouſly one with another yet conſidering that our ſtrifes amongſt our ſelves proceed upon the very ſame grounds and motivs we pretend all of us to have againſt the general adverſary we all hate, till this capital diſlike of Popery be diminiſhed, our other ſewds muſt needs be kept alive. No peace amongſt our ſelves; till we revoke our words, and ill deeds againſt our innocent neighbours, and at laſt comply charitably with them againſt whom our firſt diſſention ſprang up in this land. *Ephraim* is againſt *Manaſſes*, and *Manaſſes* againſt *Ephraim*, but both againſt *Juda*; and becaus they are both againſt *Juda* their lawful ſuperiour, therefor are they ſo furiouſly bent againſt one another, whiles *Ephraim* to be in *Juda's* place, who is thruſt out by both parties, labours to depreſs *Manaſſes*, and *Manaſſes* for the ſame reaſon to trample upon *Ephraim*. Thus is *Presbyterian* againſt *Independent*, and *Independent* againſt *Presbyterian*, but both againſt the *Papiſt*: *Proteſtant* againſt *Puritan*, and *Puritan* againſt *Proteſtant*, but both againſt the *Catholick*. And as ſoon as the *Proteſtant* had by violence ſupplanted and caſt his Roman neighbours out of all their dignities honor and livelihood; the rancour had utterly ceaſed, had not the *Puritan* roſe up out of the Proteſtant bowels and ſubverted him by the ſame means

means he had used to his catholick foregoers: and when this was don it had ceased again, had not *Presbyterian*, *Anabaptist*, and *Independent* sprung out of the Puritan disturbed one another, and all the land by the same stratagems.

Hot *Hasterig* and zealous *Vane* two grand Puritans, antient and mortal enemies both of them unto Roman catholicks, when at length they fell out and jarred in this last Rump Parliament, they did both in publick and private with the utmost rage imaginable object *Popery* to one another, which they judged both of them to be both the extremest vilification could be cast upon any one, and also most advantageous to him that objects it: every mouth and book in the long Parliaments time, said no less of the Kings army wherwith he defended himself; that they were all Papists and Popishly affected: all the adherents of —Tectour *Oliver*, after he had broken and shamefully dismist the long Parliament, said the like of it: the friends of the dissolved long Parliament, which were a considerable part of the land, asserted the like of *Oliver* and his souldiers; and so did great store of good Protestants otherwise grave men say confidently, that the red coat souldiers were all Jesuites and Papists: and the same red coat souldiers both swinged and pillaged all the land upon the same account, laying popery to us all, and made us smart for it over and over; as if

the

the very notion and name of *Popery* had even turned our brains and made us all mad. If we do but hear any one say of his neighbor that he is a *Papist* our blood rises presently against him whom we never saw; and if we know him one, we shall believ any evil that is spoken of him be it never so incredible or even impossible; and are apt to imagin and speak it our selves in any place. A rational man would hardly beleev, although it be very true, that som English men should report confidently even in Rome to the citizens there, that the Parliament men and judges who murdered our good King here in *England* were most of them papists, who indeed were all of them more profest enemies to the Papist or Catholick than to the King himself. So that the malice of *popery* once taken away, and as it expresses catholick religion it deserves none, we should not know in our religious feuds what to object to one another for disparagement. It would seem a strang thing, if after all our wars and the mischiefs we have either don or intended one another upon the account of *popery*, it should prov at last so good & sincere a religion, that we can never more truly comend our neighbour than when we lay *popery* to his charg deservedly, nor ever act greater iniquity than when we persecute him upon that account. But indeed if *popery* be taken as it is now conceived for a fardle of iniquity, fraud and treachery,

chery, then it will leaſt agree to them it is moſt put upon, and is indeed proper only unto them who impoſe it upon others.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to take all men off from any baſis of private interpretation, reaſon, or light within themſelvs, whereupon they may raiſe a new religion, and wars and broils to maintain it againſt the Church out of which they ſallied. And hereby the *Independent* loſes his conceived advantage againſt the *Presbyterian*, this his againſt the *Proteſtant*, and the *Proteſtant* his againſt the *Roman Catholick*. What we are to fix upon, I have here and there intermingleed, although very ſparingly; and he told us it long ago who ſaid, If any will be my diſciple, let him *deny* himſelf.

Fourth Chapter.

All Religions who have oppoſition to the Catholick are equally innocent to one another, as likewiſe is the Roman religion truly innocent and unblamable to them all.

§. 17
Hiſtory of Religion.

I Have proceeded hitherto with a kind of negligent carefulnes, as I may ſo call it, not lapping up my diſcours with pithy argumentations and a formal order, but letting

ting it flow looſe and intermingled, that it may delight all, and withal profit any that will read ſeriouſly; but now that theſe contents of my fourth chapter may connaturally appear unto the ſight of every one, I will to refreſh my readers appetite, a little leave even that method too: and that he may diſcern of himſelf without any further diſcours of mine, both how all the ſeveral wayes of religion here in *England* are equally innocent, and withall that the Roman catholick is abſolutely unblameable, I will make a brief narration of the ingreſs and progreſs of Chriſtianity in this land, unto theſe preſent times, and leav the concluding inference unto every mans own judgment. Truth needs not the help of art, and its very natural appearance is the beſt argument can be made for it. I know there be many eagle-ſighted men, that are able to trace the proceedings of ſtates, and policy, and religion from far, yet becaus generally men live at home and ſee no further than the preſent, which ſuffices nothing at all for judgment in theſe our turbulent affairs, I muſt crave leav of thoſe great heroes very briefly to run over that ſtory, which although they do well enough know already, yet to the generality of Engliſhmen, whom in this my diſcours I ſerv and labor for, is ſo utterly unknown that they do not ſo much as dream of any ſuch thing.

In

In the thirty fifth year of our Lord when *Sulpitius Galba* and *Cornelius Sylla* were conſuls, all the Chriſtians in Jeruſalem except only the Apoſtles being diſperſt abroad upon that great perſecution which cut off St. *Stephen*, the Church of God did ſpread and propagate upon that occaſion into ſeveral countries, not only of Judea and Samaria, but Phænicia, Cyprus, Antioch, Damaſcus, and round about beyond the borders of Paleſtin. At that time *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen Martha* with *Marcella* her handmaid, *Maximin* a diſciple, and *Joſeph of Arimathea* that noble decurion, againſt whom the Jews were more vehemently incenſed, were after much pillaging and many injurious affronts put together into a ſhip without ſail; in which notwithſtanding by the conduct of that providence they worſhipped, they arrived ſafe at laſt in Marſelles in *France*; where *Joſeph of Arimathea*, ſo far companion of the common danger with them, left them to divine protection; and is ſaid, haply by means of ſome Brittiſh merchant in thoſe coaſts, to have ſailed thence into this our Iſle of *Britanny*, where by the power of his words and holy life having converted many of our Brittons unto faith, he ended his dayes; the teſtimony of whoſe ſanctity that ſtrang thorn of *Glaſenbury abbey* which grew green and flouriſhed every Chriſtmas day remained even to our times.

This

This ſtory of a fact ſo long ago atchieved, although it be obſcured by that viciſſitude of time which at length buries all things; yet it ſerv's ſo much as we have of it, to ſhew that the religion he brought was catholick; ſince the ſame antiquities that ſpeak his arrival here, and his converſion of people, mention their erection of croſſes, ſhrines, oratories, altars, monaſteries, and the like things of catholick profeſſion don by him and the people he converted.

But partly by the great ſucceeding perſecutions raiſed by the Roman emperours againſt Chriſtianity, partly by the unwearied endeavours of the Pagan Prieſts here in the land againſt it, about the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Roman emperour, and year of our Lord 190. there were hardly any remnants of it left in this iſland. Wherefore our noble Britiſh King *Lucius* moved by the fame of that holy faith ſent to *Eleutherius* then Pope in *Rome*, to entreat he would deſtin into our countrey ſome of his ſpecial paſtours to teach us his Chriſtian faith. The Pope ſent him two good prieſts, *Fugatius* and *Damian*, who arriving here with ſome few others, who were pleaſed to accompany them, made both the King himſelf and his Queen and very many of his ſubjects Chriſtian.

And this Chriſtianity of the Brittons no man I think will doubt it to be catholick; ſince the whole

whole profeſſion of it, both while the Brittons lived in this land, and after that they were expelled by the Pagan Saxes into the mountains of Wales, doth clearly manifeſt it; if Prieſts living together in monaſteries, ſome hundreds of them many times together, and exerciſing in Churches their prieſtly functions upon the real and myſtical body of Chriſt, if praying before crucifixes, erecting of croſſes, ſolemnizing of feaſts, keeping of Lent, vigils and embers, honouring of Saints, making oblations and oriſons for the dead, may as it needs muſt ſignifie ſo much: Nor can it be imagined that Pope *Eleutherius* ſent to us by his Prieſts any other religion than his own And this is called *Englands* ſecond converſion, as that by *Joſeph of Arimathea* the firſt: and both of them equally to one and the ſame catholik faith and no other; which how ever now by a ſtrange judgment of heaven it be for a time traduced, yet in primitive ages it was looked upon as a moſt ſacred and bleſſed religion, and then perſecuted by none but ſuch as were profeſt enemies to Chriſt himſelf; as I could ſhow at large, but I muſt make haſte.

After two or three hundred years this Religion, all that while profeſt in the land, was again baniſhed by the utter overthrow and flight of the Brittons profeſſors of it into our engliſh Alps in Wales, where Chriſtian and

Chrſtianity lay hid together; and the Pagan Saxes who had driven them out equally hated both their faith and them. Wherfore about the year of our Lord 596. the time of emperour *Mauritius*, Pope *Gregory* the great, of his own proper motion and good will towards us deſtined unto the converſion of the *Saxes* or *Engliſhmen*, who being then Pagans had poſſeſt themſelvs of all the Engliſh Territories, S. *Auſtin* byſhop and abbot, who with forty other Prieſts his companions all good children of bleſſed S. *Bennet*, preached here ſo powerfully, that upon one Chriſtmas day he baptiſed more then ten thouſand ſouls: for which good work of our converſion the Kingdom of *England* ever owned that good Pope for their ſpiritual patron and apoſtle. And the children of S. *Bennet* are indeed our very fathers who firſt begat us in Chriſt, and regenerated our Engliſh nation to the life of future bliſs.

This Chriſtian religion brought in by S. *Auſtin*, the Brittons could not deny it to be conformable unto their own catholick faith received formerly from Pope *Eleutherius* in all matter of doctrin; although they were ſo tranſported with paſſion againſt the Saxons their ancient adverſaries, that they would neither let their own prieſts, wherof they had more ſtore then they had uſe of go forth to their converſion; nor yet forbear to diſturb good S. *Auſtin* in

in his so pious a work. But such good Christians did our forefathers the *Saxons* after their conversion prove, that they yielded nothing to the antient Brittons before them, yea rather they exceeded them; so that all the land was stored by them with goodly monasteries of S. *Bennets* order, brave cathedral Churches, fair colledges and libraries manuscript, crosses, shrines, oratories, sufficient and wholsom laws for all occasions, hospitals, corporations, and all that might be necessary either to our temporal or spiritual welfar. And all our people were wholly attentive to their devout contemplations of a life to com in Christ our great redeemer, Church and State being now most piously and prudently provided for, when *William* the *Conquerour* in the year of our Lord 1066. came in upon us from *France*, and conquered us.

This valiant Captain finding our catholick Religion conformable to his own Christianity in *France*, although he abrogated much of our civil law, and used in temporal affairs too too much of violence, therby to subjugate the land more perfectly to himself; yet he medled not at all with any alteration in religion, nor once excepted against it, but lived himself with the rest of his subjects both Saxes and Normans, and died contentedly therin, building of his own devotion som fair monasteries to St.

Bennet before his death, wherin God might night and day be serv'd and praised, for his souls greater expiation from that tinctur of blood-shed it might have contracted in his wars and vehement proceedings with the Saxon nobility after his victory. And in this same catholick religion did both Norman and Saxon live peaceably together and without any the least disturbance upon that account, (though for civil respects *York* and *Lancaster* raised broils enough) until the end of King *Henry* the eighths reign, about five hundred years together after the Conquerours ingress into the land, the people offering daily their prayers and orisons before the altar and sacred crucifix, together with their priests and prelats all Roman catholicks, without any schisme or disturbance.

From whence we may note first, that all the three conversions of our Kingdom, wherein we lived unanimously so long together, were all of them to one and the same catholick Roman faith: secondly that this faith as it represents Christ its divine sours in purity, which all men might see if they would have but patience to examine it, so likewise both in unity and unchangeablenes: as ther is but one God and he immutable, so is ther but one faith and it unchangeable. Thirdly that catholick religion is so far from being an enemy to the State-politick, as som reformers to its greater dispa-

rage-

ragement would pretend, that it is the great founder and maintainer of it. Nor ever had this land for so many hundred years it was catholik upon the account of religion any disturbance at all; whereas after the exile of that catholick beleef in our land, from the period of K. Henries reign to these dayes we have ever been either in actual disquiet or at least in fears; vulgar heads uncontroulable in their fansies, since they were by the reformation constituted in effect both judges and contrivers of controversies, ever raising som new fangled way or other to disturb, or at least to threaten and indanger our peace. And it is a thing of much wonder, that a nation such as England is, so wise and serious in all other things, so judicious and grave, should be perswaded by any mans words against the dictamen of their own reason if they would but consult it, to beleev any such thing of this innocent faith, when they cannot but clearly see in all histories both our own and others, that amongst all the pretended wayes of Christianity, only catholick religion both sets up and preservs the Crown, which giddy headed sects indanger. Som of our english clergy tell us of a thousand I know not what dangers of the Pope, therby to get the assistance of secular power to their own ends; but what is indeed the occasion? they know assuredly, that the Pope if he were once admitted,

would both ſeparate them from the ſecular life they lead, and bring into order their exorbitant opinions. And what harm if both theſe things were don? If we do but ſearch antiquities, we ſhall find that none of our eccleſiaſtical benefices were given by princes and people to maintain a wife and children, but only ſuch ſingle abſtracted contemplative men as had conſecrated themſelvs and all their whole affections to God, to ſerv him in all ſinglenes of heart, in prayer and faſting and perfect charity, and in the ſacrifice of the altar all the dayes of their life, without any ſolicitude after this world; as Prieſts of antient Chriſtianity did: and not for women and children, unto whoſe generation againſt eccleſiaſtical cuſtom and conſtitutions, our miniſters give as much attendance as any ſecular man whatſoever, and generate children which after their death, unles they ſhow in their lifetime more of worldly ſolicitude than their ſpiritual ſtate permits, muſt lie upon the pariſh: and as for ordering our diſſentions in points of faith I ſhould think not only the Pope who would aſſuredly do it, but any whatſoever thing in the world, though it were but an owl in an ivy buſh ſhould deſerv thanks if he effected it. But I return to my ſtory.

Item

Item.

NOt only the kingdoms of the continent, Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, Spain; but all the Northern coasts and islands, Denmark, Norway, England, Ireland and the isles about them were now in a full and quiet possession and profession of their catholick religion; when upon a little occasion, heaven so willing it for some great sin or neglect of mankind, the whole scene was changed on the sodain; and catholick faith in our northern coasts to the grief and amazement of all that were then alive utterly abolished, even by the discontent of one person, and he but a private one neither, upon this occasion.

The Pastour of Christianity upon some solicitation of Christian Princes for a general compliance throughout all Christendom to their design, sent forth in the year 1517. a plenary indulgence throughout the world in favour of the *Cruciata* against the Turk. *Albertus* byshop of *Mentz* delegated by the Pope to see it executed in Germany, committed the preaching and promulgation of it unto the *Dominican* friars, which the hermits of St. *Austin* within the same place took ill; but especially *Martin Luther* a preacher and professour in that order, esteeming himself the best deserving man in the town, grew exceeding wroth that any

ſhould be choſen before himſelf, to execute that work which was likely to have as great an auditory and confluence of people as might happen in a mans life time, to the no ſmall repute of him, who ſhould be thought worthy before another to divulge the bull and make the exhortation ſermon, in the behalf as it were of the whole Chriſtian world. Vexed therfore that he was thus neglected and as he thought undervaliewed not only by words but books and papers ſecretly thrown about, he diminiſhed firſt the dominicans, then the byſhop, then indulgences themſelvs. Catholick ſuperiours and princes blamed this miſdemeanour of *Luther* as a practis of much danger and ſedition; but he grew not any thing better therby, but rather more headſtrong and furious, as unlawful paſſion increaſes by the very means of mitigation; inveighing now with more boldnes as far as he durſt, both againſt Prince and Prelate too. Inſomuch that the duke of *Saxony* after a year or two invited friar *Luther* to his court, where by diſpute and colloquy with the eminent doctor *Eckius*, if he could not make his caus good, he might grow better principled, at leaſt for Gods ſake and his own good condeſcend to moderation and peace. But *Luther* after much tireſom talk told at laſt very boldly both the duke and his doctour too, that *the quarrel was not begun for God, nor for God ſhould it be ended.* And ſo departing thence

thence he proceeded now with more virulent words to incens the people, unto whom he promiſed liberty from their vows and faſtings and other penitential obſervances; whereby he perverted much of the laity, clergy, and religious people both men and women, who, 'tis ſtrange to conſider it, violating their vowes deſerted that Catholick Church, beſides which they had never known nor heard of other, to follow the ſerpentine enticements of one private perſon; and he if not the worſt, yet at leaſt none of the beſt that ever were.

Thus when one ram has leapt over a hedg, all the other poor ſheep ſo many as be within ken of the fact are apt to follow. So prone is man to go aſtray like ſheep, and do amiſs to our own ruin without any other reaſon for it, than the ſight of a preſident acting before us what our own natural inclination is apt of it ſelf without the curb of religion or law of its own natur to embrace. And ſo much was the world diſpoſed at that ill hour to a diſſolute looſnes, that *Luther* was ſtill gaining upon people even from his firſt apoſtacy: But when he had once married himſelf unto *Catherine Bore* a Nun by him ſeduced out of the monaſtery of *Mymick*, contrary to both their vowes, ſo that he was now become a ſure and faſt enemy as well to continence as before he had ſhown himſelf to abſtinence; 'tis wonder how faſt they flocked

to

to him on all ſides, not only from the vulgar laiety, but even from all inſtitutes and profeſſion and countries, even the prieſts and votaries of chaſtity, *Oecolampadius* a Monk of S. Bridget, *Jacobus Præpoſiti* an Auguſtine, *Andreas Carolſtadius* an archdeacon in Wittenberg, *Suinglius* a cannon of Conſtance, *Martin Bucer* a dominican fryar, *Liſmanin* a Franciſcan, *Richerius* a Carmelite, *John Calvin* a curate prieſt: *Philip Melanchton* out of Germany, *Michael Servetus* out of Spain, *Bernardin Ochyn* and *Peter Martyr* out of Florence, *John Alaſco* out of Poland, *Sebaſtin Caſtelio* out of France, *Beza* out of Burgundy, *Stancar* and *Valentine Gentile* out of Italy, *Blandrate*, *Alciate* and *David Georg* out of Tranſylvania, *&c.* who being all hitherto catholicks took occaſion now by the example of *Luther* to fall away; whereby as the body of holy Church was purged of ſome unquiet ſpirits, ſo was *Luthers* retinue in a ſhort ſpace hugely augmented. Inſomuch that this new clergy made up of fallen prieſts and votaries fell to writing ſtifly againſt their eccleſiaſtical paſtour, and the laiety drew themſelvs into bodies againſt their temporal ſuperiours in every place, thoſe in Germany againſt the Emperour, thoſe in Holland againſt their King, they in France againſt theirs: nay the contagion flew ſo ſwiftly about Europe like wild fire in dry ſtubble, that ere King *Philip* could

get

get into Spain, his ſubjects there were corrupted many of them and hiſſing hot unto battle: but he was a wiſe prince and well underſtood the unquiet genius of hereſie, and therfore took a ſpeedy cours with ſom for an enſample and terrour to the reſt, and ſo preſerved his kingdom. But the wars in France were long and dangerons, thoſe of Germany and Holland hardly yet ended.

It was almoſt twelv years before this ſtrang confluence of people could agree together by what name to be owned till a chance gave it them thus: There was congregated, for the catholick Churches peace, a ſolemn diet at *Spire* in Germany; againſt which and the articles there agreed upon, *Luthers* new troop made a joint unanimous *Proteſtation*, appealing from the diet to the emperour, although their after comportment ſhewed that they did indeed no more reſpect the emperour than his diet. upon which general and hearty *Proteſtation* of their own, they were pleaſed ever after to call one another *Proteſtants*. Yet ſooner than they had well agreed in the name they ſo much diſagreed in doctrine (ambitious heads, as all of them were, emulating each one as great a name and fame as *Luther* had, whom they both equalled in renown and place whilſt they all remained prieſts in the catholick Church, and now ſeparated injoyed as great fulnes of the ſpirit as himſelf)

himſelf) that they did not only ſet up ſeveral wayes and ſects amongſt themſelvs; but inveighed and wrote bitterly one againſt another, even with more virulency than they had aforetime uſed againſt the Church in the beginning of their diſceſſion: And now there was up and down amongſt the Proteſtants, here *Oſianders* church, there *Stancars*, there *Melanchthons*, here a body of rigid *Lutherans*, there ſoft ones, here *Calviniſts* enemies to both: here *Illyricans*, there *Valentine gentiliſts*: here *Plenilutherans*, there *Semilutherans*, there *Antilutherans*: here the diſciples of *Oecolampadius*, there of *Suinglius*, *&c.* all which did ſo eagerly quarrel about the matters of Reformation, that a ſober man could not have the patience either to hear their ſermons or read their books.

Since that firſt diviſion of *Luther*, which is now above a hundred years, ther have been ſeveral times both in Germany and other places many great meetings by Proteſtant divines of all ſorts and ſides, to bring all parties to an union; but it could never be effected to this day: which is a ſhrewd ſign, as *Luther* ſpake ingenuouſly before the Duke of Saxony, that the concertation was not begun for God, nor yet for God ſhall ever be ended. An ambition they have by their very diſceſſion and novelties to advance their name and worldly contents, being ſo oppoſite as it is unto yielding or ſubmiſſion

miſſion to anothers judgment, will both make ſchiſms and maintain them without controul. Nor can it be expected he ſhould yield to his fellow ſervant or condiſciple, who contemns the maiſter and doctour and chief paſtour of Chriſtianity.

§. 19.

Item.

INto our Kingdom of England this new invented proteſtancy had found acceſs exceeding difficil if not altogether impoſſible; all our Kings even from the Conquerour to that day being ever moſt vigilant that no innovation ſhould ariſe to the endangering, as thoſe wiſe princes apprehended, not only the ſpiritual but politick ſtate, under what ever pretens it ſhould begin; and the whole land carrying throughout the world ſo eminent a renown both for their piety and learning and zealons long continued affection to the catholick religion above all other nations; when an odde accident ſet the doors wider open here than either in Germany France or Netherlands, for its more free and copious ingreſs; and it was this: King *Henry* the eight a valorous and noble prince, who had alſo ſet forth a book againſt *Luther* and his new coined proteſtancy, for which zealous and Chriſtian act of his the Pope conferred upon him the title of *Defenſor fidei*, wherin our Kings

Kings glory to this day, even this so great a prince stood at that time so vehemently affected unto one of his subjects *Anne Bullen*, that for her he ran himself into a hundred troubles, and his whole kingdom into irreparable miseries. To the end he might marry with her, he endeavoured a divorce from his good wife Queen *Catherine*, with whom he had lived honourably and peaceably twenty years together; which with most earnest importunity for six whole years together when he could not obtain of the *Pope*, he renounced him; and by the insinuation of some Lutherans who by this time had crept into the land he made himself Pope and head of the Church within the territories of England: and so he dispensed with himself, and made that divorce by his own autority which the Pope could not do with his, and married *Anne*: whom a while after by the same autority he divorced again, and cut off as King and Pope, both *Anne* from his bed and *Annes* head from her shoulders.

Upon this strang act of the Kings declaring himself head of the Church never before known or heard of since Christianity first entered England (for though Kings were ever honoured as nursing fathers of the Church yet head of influence to this mystical body of Christ is onely *Jesus* himself, and head of government under him only that person who first begot us in

in Chriſt and in whom all the ſacred hierarchy ends) I ſay upon that ſtrang act of his both King *Henry* and his whole kingdom was overthrown at one blow, and laid proſtrate under the feet of thoſe men whom he had ſo glorioufly triumphed of late, and obtained thereby to the no ſmall ornament of his crown the addition of a new title. For now came flocking in out of *Germany*, *Geneva*, and the Netherlands whole ſwarms of reformers, as thick as graſhoppers; by whom in a ſmall time, the Kings countenance being now ſet againſt catholicks who could never be brought to like of his divorce, the land was ſo univerſally corrupted, defaced and ſpoiled, that within few years all the goodly monaſteries, nunneries, abbeys and their Churches were utterly diſpeopled, pillaged and ruined: and millions of people of both ſexes, a ſad ſight to behold, who had ſerved God night and day in thoſe their angelical retirements, caſt forth into the wide world to begin a ſecular worldly life, many of them in their feeble old age, when all their whole livelihood was taken from them.

The prey indeed was very great, but it proved *aurum Toloſanum*, neither King nor people was ever the richer for it; general granaries, as the monaſteries then were, making proviſion for all children to be born in the land, which was infinite eas both for rich and poor,

even

even unto all eternity; but theſe once pillaged and deſtroyed, vaniſhing in particular mens hands like water through the fingers, wherof nothing at all conſiderable is kept. Nay he that was before the richeſt and nobleſt King in *Europe*, after this vaſt ſpoil which a man would think were enough to ſet up any Prince that was never ſo low, became ſo very poor before his death, that he was forced to make adulterate and leather-coin to ſupply his wants: and of all the great families that were enriched with that ſpoil, there is not one in twenty that keeps up his head at this day.

Queen *Mary* ſtopped this torrent for a while; but it burſt forth again in Queen *Elizabeths* reign, who alſo found it ſo impetuous, that ſhe with all her ſubtle counſel could not tell how to wield or rule a people of ſo many heads and factions, as had then flown together in the land out of ſeveral nations, and endeavoured to perſwade the people every one to their own way of reformation as the onely pure one. Yet the Queen notwithſtanding being declared illegitimate in her fathers daies, thought it ſafer all things conſidered, to leav off her ancient religion in which ſhe had by catholick byſhops received the Crown, than to diſguſt the reſolute Proteſtants. All the difficulty was how to content even them, being ſo ſeverally biaſſed that no one thing could do it. French Proteſtants

the

the *Calviniſts* and *Suinglians*, were moe in number; but *German* Proteſtants of greater repute; and both theſe and thoſe ſo ſubdivided into parties, as ther appeared no hopes to pleas any one without the offence of all the reſt. She concluded therfor by the advice of her councel, which ſaw a neceſſity of it, to recall epiſcopacy which had been now ſome years baniſhed, by whoſe awe and power the rabble might be brought to ſom order. And becaus the catholik byſhops, who were now all of them ſo many as remained alive impriſoned, would not be induced either by promis or threats to ordain her any, and Proteſtant byſhops there were none upon earth, ſhe appointed her own divines by her autority and power to create one another; which kind of ordination though it were not onely ridiculous to Catholicks, but hateful alſo to the greater part of Proteſtants, who in all their reformations that wer ever yet made, jointly execrated epiſcopacy as the main badg of Popery; yet the Queen provided by an Act, that none upon pain of her diſpleaſure and further penalties ſhould laugh at it.

Thus was ſettled an Engliſh Proteſtant Church neither according to *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Calvin*, or any of thoſe firſt Proteſtant teachers, much leſs the Roman catholick; and yet too a part of every thing, as it were on purpos to pleas all, at leaſt to ſtop their mouths.

The name of Proteſtants we aſſumed from *Luther* as the moſt ancient and honourable of the reformation, the doctrin for the moſt part from *Calvin* as moſt pure; and our epiſcopacy in imitation of the *Catholick*, as moſt ſafe: and ſo we were neither one nor the other, and yet in ſome ſens all. We pulled down altars which *Luther* kept up, and ſet up epiſcopacy which *Luther* pulled down. We joined with *Calvin* in his doctrin, but not his government; we joined with *Catholicks* in their form of government but not in their doctrin, We caſt off the Prieſts *albe* and *veſtment* to pleas *Calviniſts*: we kept the *cope* & *ſurplice* to comply with *Luther*; and a ſacrament or two in condeſcention to the *Catholick*, who delivered them with the addition of more. Our miniſters mourned in black to imitate the Papiſt prieſts that were then only in repute; and yet they did it with a wife in their hand, that *Luther* might not take exception; whether the wife were virgin or widdow, to ſatisfie *Calvin* who without ſcruple of irregularity married a tailors widow. For *Luthers* ſake we defied the Pope; for *Calvins* ſatisfaction we bore our ſelves towards the King, as if he were little concerned in ſpiritual affairs; and yet to affront the *Catholicks* we called him head of our Church. We preached the word becaus *Catholicks* amongſt other things uſed to do it; we made no ſacrifice becaus *Calvin* abhorred

it;

it; and yet we kneeled in communion becaus *Luther* liked it. The maſs we caſhiered to ſatisfie *Calvin*; for *Luthers* ſake we drew a compendious Common-prayer book out of it and the breviary; and to content the *Catholicks* we kept all the goſpel entire. The real preſence with *Calvin* we cried down; yet we kept an altar-able covered with linnen in ſome compliance to *Luther*; and we bowed our knee as we paſt by, though it were a meer naked board, in imitation of *Catholicks* who uſed to do ſo to their inſhrined Meſſias. We kept up the pulpit, that *Catholicks* who built them might not except againſt us for pulling down all; we removed the altar-table to pleas *Calvin*; and inſtead of the crucifix upon the rood loft we placed a naked unicorn to content *Luther* and *Catharin Bore*. To affront *Catholicks* we preached down good works and charity; we cried up faith for *Luthers* ſake; and hope, becaus we could not ſee how it could ſtand with *Calvins* certainty of ſalvation, we left to his diſpoſal, *&c.*

§. 20.

Item.

I Cannot ſee why a wiſe counſel and Parliament may not with as much autority form a Church both for doctrin and government, as either *Luther* or *Calvin*; their judgments are

moe in number, more verſed in weighty affairs, more clear and free from that paſſion which tranſported thoſe good birds to their reformation. And this mixtur of things by the diſcretion of ſo many grave men, if a Church as well as other polities be of human inſtitution, is ſo far from derogating that it augments the ſplendour. I am ſure this Church of ours marched forward with a very handſome ſhow and ſome tranquility of progreſs even until the reign of our good King *Charls* the firſt, when it was with a violent wild rage miſerably defaced. In all which time of its flouriſh the diſtreſſed Catholick was with all exact care perſecuted all the land over, both in their livelihood and dignities and liberty and ſomtimes life too; although their impriſonments and loſs of their eſtates did not ſo much afflict them as two other vexations, the one to their fame, the other to conſcience, both of them unto good and upright men almoſt inſupportable. For the preſs and pulpit were ever ſweating out ſomthing againſt the honour of Roman Catholicks, which hath rendered them at length as black as ingenious calumny can make them. The conſcience torture was a double edged Oath, drawn on purpos to entangle thoſe catholicks whom threats, puniſhment, or promiſes could not move to deſert their former way of faith: and it could not but take; for going under the ſpecious name

name of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and withal implicitely involving, as the letter founded, an abnegation of antient Christianity, it would if they refused them render Catholicks extreamly odious to their neighbours, and perjured if they took them. And here I cannot but commend the conscientiousnes of Pagan emperors our ancient persecutors, who though they ceased not to deprive the poor Christians of their dignities, state and lives; yet did they never offer them an oath concerning religion, which they knew beforehand to be against the articles of their beleef; those great heroes knowing full well, that as perjury is a deviation from the right reason of humanity, so can it be no other to drive any one upon it. Nay emperour *Julian*, sirnamed Apostate, openly protested in one of his epistles, that he would have no manner of violence offered to the conscience of the Galileans: ἐγὼ μὲν κέκεινα τοῖς γαλιλαίοις ἅπασι ἔτω φαῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως. ὥστε μηδένα μηδαμῶς βιάν ὑπομένειν, μήδε εἰς ἱερὸν ἕλκεσθαι, μήδε εἰς ἄλλ' τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηρεάζεθαι παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προθεσιν. I know that to pacify the Puritans who excepted as highly as any catholick against them, although upon other grounds, the Oaths were by roial interpretation both of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* much mollified, but that their exposition was private, incompleat, and unknown to Catholicks, and which the words as

they founded would hardly and very hardly bear.

However catholicks as they did ever offer themselvs to take any oath of allegiance which were purely such, and involved not an abnegation of their antient Christianity; so likewise have they ever shewed in deed and fact, that they would keep the allegiance tho they took not the oath, whereas others took the oath and broke the allegiance. And which of these two is most honest and Christian like our B. Saviour has in the like case long ago decided. *A certain man, said he, had two sons, and coming to the former he said, son go to day and work in my vineyard, and he answering said, I will not, but after repenting himself he did it. Now coming to the other he said in the like manner, but he answering said, I go my Lord: and went not. Which of the two did the will of his father. They said unto him, the first: Jesus said unto them; Amen, I say unto you that publicans and harlots shall go before you into the kingdom of God:* the reason of this application is, becaus the Jew had entered an oath or covenant with God, but did contrary; the publicans took no such oath, but yet when time served fulfilled it.

But whiles we thus armed our selvs against the Roman catholicks, the disgusted part of Protestants who deeply disliked this new episcopacy, whereby they might be as much curbed as

by

by the catholick one before, did multiply amain; and were oftentimes ready to make head both in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; insomuch that the byshops and state were often in great perplexity, and utterly to seek what they were best to do; if they should favour the puritan, so the antepiscopal protestant began then to be called, or let them alone, they would increas unto publick danger; if they should resist them, as it could not be done without scandal and hazzard, so neither could they tell how plausibly to effect it, either by word or sword: for this, there was no sufficient colour; for that no reason: sith they did but only press home the first principles of reformation; which if they were fals, by what right was the Roman catholick so persecuted and undon; if true, why should english protestant-episcopacy against those principles be permitted to stand.

Yet at length our state concluded still publickly to persecute the Catholick, therby to give some little content to the Puritan; and privately with all vigilant care to suppres the puritan, thereby to be more inabled to maintain our selves against the Catholik, whose state and dignities we had entered upon. And our English byshops they chose rather to side with their younger foe the Puritan, than with the Catholick their elder antagonist; becaus unto him in

ſo doing they might ſeem free benefactours, to the other but juſt reſtorers of their due; beſides the novel levity of the Puritan could not if it were a little countenanced or connived at, in any probability do ſo much prejudice to our prelate-proteſtant, as would the antient renown of Catholicks, if the religion ſhould com again into favour with that land that had not yet utterly forgot its former glory. And although the danger to proteſtancy might be equal on both ſides if the power were alike, yet the Catholick would with a more uncontrolable juſtice enter upon his own means and dignities of which he had been deprived by violence, than could the puritan invade anothers which yet he never had; although indeed he might pretend as much right to undermine the new eſtabliſhed proteſtant-epiſcopacy, as proteſtants the antient catholick faith and clergy; which although in truth it ſignified no right at all, yet *ad hominem* it was good enough: and the puritan if he did it muſt be juſtified, or the proteſtant if he judged him muſt condemn himſelf.

In the interim theſe waters of puritaniſme increaſed and ſwelled ſo high, that about fourſcore years after this our engliſh reformation, they brake out into effect in the reign of good K. Charls the firſt and overflowed all: and the terrour of theſe twenty years civil wars, wherein the rage of ſword bore down all before it, is

not

not yet out of our minds. Whence we may ſee how vain the policies and conſultations of men ſometimes be; God ſits in heaven and laughs at them. Our favouring of the puritan, which we choſe for our ſafety when we ſtudied the Catholicks overthrow, hath brought upon us a ſpeedy ruin. And yet we are ſtill but where we were, and in the like fears of that generation which knows not the things of peace; whereas the grave and ſober Catholick if he had been countenanced, had by this time much innobled and ſtrengthened the land, and reduced it to the former ſplendour it had in antient times.

As ſoon as the *Puritan* had got the victory and overthrown both our eccleſiaſtick and civil ſtate, he fell himſelf into many ſubdiviſions of *presbyterian*, *anabaptiſt*, and *quaker*, which ſtruggled and conteſted one with another, not only in pulpits towns and cities of the land, but in our parliaments too, thoſe very parliaments that had overthrown popery, as they called it, namely our proteſtant religion and monarchy, with the few Roman catholicks that were in the land, when they had once ſubdued all to their will. And how zealouſly every one of theſe caniniſes his own way to the diſparagement of all others: what biting books and ſermons are darted forth by this latter progeny againſt one another, as well as againſt the papiſt and proteſtant,

testant, is so evident I need not speak it. The *Puritan* seems now to have yielded up his place and title, this his great battle being ended, unto the new and later off-spring of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*; who are now grown old enough to begin a new battle and fight, if they want a common adversary, with one another: for all the brood is able and strong enough at ten years old to go forth to battle, which will still be renewed so long as heresies are suffered to sport and spawn: they onely stay so long, that their number may sufficiently increas; for as for every individual person he is furnished strong enough in his very first being to skirmish, and comes forth even out of the womb with an alarm and open defiance; as the progeny, that rose out of Cadmus his serpents teeth that were sowen in the earth, came up all of them with nodding crests and shaking spears, and as soon as they got their foot above ground fell a fighting.

And this is the state of things in our kingdom when lo most happily returns our glorious Sun to dissipate these mists King *Charls* the second to his own home, after his too too long absence and retirement from the hands of our violent rage; whom God inspire and strengthen that he may be able, if possibly it may be, according to his own hearts desire to pacify, quiet, and content us all. But this I am sure can never

ver be done, had he ten times the wiſdom of *Salomon* and the excellency of all the worthies of the world couched up together in his princely breaſt (and his own worth is reported without any help of other title to deſerv an empire) whiles we deſire contradictory things, and will not reſt if we have them not, nor yet will ſubmit unto his autority and reaſon, who ſtudies only our good, and makes uſe of all the wiſdom in the land to effect it. Let there be but only two men, whereof the one will have ſerene weather, the other rain in one and the ſame time and place, and I do not ſee how God himſelf except he chang their minds can pleas them both.

By this narration we may ſee when theſe diviſions about religion came firſt into England, what fruits they have had, how they have grown and increaſed, and what to judg of books and ſermons that caſt ſo much *odium* upon another. It is very brief indeed, conſidering the amplitude of the matter, but I only intended to ſet it before my countrimen as a ſmall plate of anchovies or cavearr, to ſharpen the appetite unto a further inqueſt after truth, which all theſe ſeveral wayes pretend to exhibit.

And if my reader be cautious he may eaſily diſcern a reaſon why all theſe ſects are ſo boiſterous one againſt another; and every one of them

them againſt the Roman catholick. *Iſmael* diſturbed the whole hous, and was ever quarrelling and buſtling againſt *Iſaac*. The reaſon is the ſame both here and there: *Iſmael* was a natural ſon, and *Iſaac* the legitimate heir, and natural ſons be generally ſeditious, violent and clamorous. As *Iſmael* therefor was *Iſaac* his natural brother, ſo is a proteſtant miniſter but the by-blow of a catholick prieſt: the Presbyterian likewiſe to him: and ſo forward, till you come to the Quaker, who was begot by a deluſion and brought into the world by a fright; his hand is againſt every man and every mans hand againſt him. The remedy and only means of peace is *Ejice ancillam cum puero ſuo.*

§. 21.

Diſcovery.

IT may by what I have ſaid without any further argumentation appear ſufficiently, that all anticatholick wayes are equally innocent. But it will not yet be ſo clearly acknowledged that the catholick alſo is abſolutely unblamable, except I wipe off ſome few ſpots and blemiſhes which we conceiv all of us to be in that religion, eſpecially the vulgar groſs ones about maſs, images, ſervice in the latin tongue, communion in one kind, ſaints, praying for the dead, and the reſpect and dignity of him we all hate,

the

the Pope. When I have done this I ſhall then I hope have ſet the ballance ſtraight, and made popery appear equally as plauſible, innocent and unblamable as any proteſtancy. Theſe few prejudices once removed the light of a right underſtanding will eaſily ſpring up, by vertue of what I have ſaid already, and what thence will offer it ſelf to every unprejudiced eye and judgment in the land. This that I may effect with more delight to my reader; I will mix it with the occaſion of the knowledg I have got of popery, being my ſelf neither born in a popiſh land nor popiſh family.

About ſix or ſeven years old I began both by the ſpeech and geſtur of my parents to underſtand the ſtory of their misfortune, which had happened it ſeems by the popery of my grandfather, who loſing for it both eſtate and life, my father then a young ſtripling being affrighted thereat, betook himſelf to flight, not ſtaying till he came to the borders of *Nottingham* and *Leiceſterſhire*, where he ended his dayes. I could not even then but weep oftimes to ſee him ſigh ſo frequently and deeply, which yet he ſeemed to do in great fear and ſecreſy, as I even then diſcerned; nor did I ever ſpeak word of it all my life, till now after forty years that I find my ſelf paſt either hopes or fear of any thing in this world. But I could not tell all the while of my youth whether I ſhould be angry

gry at Popery or thoſe that perſecuted it: although I remember I had ſome tender reſpect for it, when I heard my father ſay, *People were better in Popery than we be now*; yet ſtill he added with it a ſigh in the cloſe, *I know not what to think of it.*

But by this means I contracted a kind of habitual reſolv, to find out if I lived what this *Popery* might be; which although troubles of ſchool and childiſh ſports covered for ſome years, yet at length it came upon me again ſo freſh and vigorous, that it ever and anon occurred unto me. About eighteen years of age I lived in the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, where being one time deſirous to ask of my good Tutor the ſtatutes of the hous, one of my fellow pupils wiſhed me not to do it, for that he had already told him, that none were to look upon them but only the ſeniours, and that it was expulſion for any els to read them; becaus there was in them much of Popery about confeſſion, maſs, praying at altars for the ſouls of deceaſed founders and benefactors of the colledg: unto all which I replied not a word. The greateſt benefit I got in the Univerſity was by looking over the heads and general contents of the many great volumes I there met with in ſeverall fair libraries: for though I was not able then any further to mannage or make uſe of them, yet they ſtood me in ſtead afterwards when reflecting

flecting upon what I had there seen, I discerned that all those great volumes of learning were, so many as were Christian either latin or greek, all catholick writers.

After two years, wherein I had learned some few terms of logick out of *Smith* and *John Seton*, I left the University and came up to *London* where I met with Churches and sermons good store. Therin I observed three things I could not tell what to think of: First, that both in the Churches of the city and University and countrey, whatever the text might be, still Pope and popery was brought in. Secondly, that never any good thing was said of it, but all evil. Thirdly, that contradictory opinions and practises were generally put upon that way: and yet our ministers who could not but see it, did not so much as regard it at all; but equally flourished all of them in whatever they said against it without the dislike or check of any, or so much as the exception of him who had spoke of it aforetime even contrary things in the same place.

If Popery thought I be so bad, let it passe: what a Gods name should we talk so much of a thing that is past and gone, and buried with my grandfather, and no man sees or is like to be troubled with it any more. How coms this nois so frequent in all places about a poor business, as if it were don by design of defamation? Are

our

our miniſters afraid we ſhould turn Papiſts, who know not but by their report what *Papiſt* means; nor can no more underſtand what they be, than we can tell what complexion *Julius Cæſar* was of. We know this way is every where ſpoken againſt, and much evil is ſaid of it; but that has been don afore now to the beſt things; and a general decrying defamation ſeems rather a conſpiracy of intereſt than any deſerved reproach. And to what purpos, ſince it is dead and gon, ſhould we ſpeak of it at all: much leſs evil, and ſo much evil too. We ought to ſpeak well of the dead, at leaſt not ill; for dead men do not bite, and ghoſts afright none but babes: and to ſpeak ill of another, as it argues a fear we have they may be able to hurt us, and a deſire by our defamation to diſable them from ſo doing, ſo doth it fill our hearts with rancour, which if the party be dead is wholly uſeles.

But it is a ſtrang thing that popery or any religion upon earth ſhould be ſuch a fardell of trumpery ſin and villany, without any good at all in it. Such a thing one would think were impoſſible to be found. And it is yet more ſtrang that noble perſons ſhould voluntarily loſe their eſtates, honours, dignities in court, and eſteem among their neighbours, who were it not for that obſtacle would dearly love them, and ſomtimes their lives too, for a thing hath

no

no goodnes at all in it. The old Pagan religion contained in it many good things, but this Popery is a hous of *Judas* all ſtench and rottennes: for our miniſters and the word of God muſt be beleeved.

And yet again, let Popery be what it will, if it ſignifie any one religion, it is the ſtrangeſt thing in the world it ſhould be evil in both extreams that be contradictory and exclude one another. Miniſters ſpeak ill of it, that may eaſily paſs: and the higheſt ill, I cannot gainſay it: yea, and nothing but ill, they may have a reaſon for it. But contradictory ills and ſo many of them and ſo tangible apparent ones, it is a wonder of wonders that one and the ſame faith and profeſſion ſhould be able to exhibite. And yet I have never heard, let a miniſter ſay what he will againſt popery, that the byſhop ever calls him to an account for it: as it is don in other things even of leſs importance, inſomuch that *Prynnes* book againſt ſtage-plaies is now queſtioned. Againſt *Popery*, and only *Popery* all goes currant. No man if he ſpeak but ill enough, can ſpeak amiſs of it: and only here two evil extreams are not oppoſite.

One preacher ſayes that the Papiſts worſhip ſtocks and ſtones to which they are ſuperſtitiouſly addicted night and day; another, that all their religion is to worſhip a piece of bread. One, that their conſciences are ſo daily tortured

and affrighted with the fire of purgatory and doomsday and pennances for their sins, that they never have quiet life: another, that they carry their top and top gallant so high, that they will go to heaven without Christ, and get eternal glory of themselves without any god-amercy to him. One, that murders, adulteries, lies, blasphemies and all sin make up the bulk of popery; another, that papists are so wholly given to good works, that they place in them excessive confidence. One, that the Pope himself and all his papists fall down to pictures and commit idolatry with them; another that the Pope is so far from falling down to any thing, that he exalts himself above all that is called God, and is very Antichrist himself: He that hates and would destroy my person, will not surely worship my picture. One, that they wallow without any conscience or fear of God in their excesses; another, that they nothing but torture their carcasses with disciplines and fastings, as if men could not go to heaven in a whole skin. One, that in respect of chastity they villifie matrimony which the apostle calls honourable; another that by a supereesteem of their own they make matrimony a sacrament, thereby equalling it with baptisme. One, that the ignorance of papist priests is so gross and palpable, that generally they can hardly read latin: another that the little ones which pro-

fess

fess the gospel had by their simplicity prevailed over all the vast learning of the subtil popish clergy. One, that popery began in the twelfth age of the Church; another in the ninth: another in the sixt; another in the fourth; another in the very primitive times of the apostles: I cannot now call to minde the numberles contradictories I observed put upon the papists. Nor could I ever determine of my grand Sires religion by such reports.

Wherefor after a year or two I put my self to travel all alone and solitary, to make my long intended discovery, Humanly speaking, it was rashly done of me, and I several times thought so when I met afterwards with troubles I did not then foresee, that were even ready to sink me. For in all my sufferings which were many and frequent, I could not but think of my many dear friends whose weeping tears in that my humour I had neglected. I believ to this hour that something went before me to provide my entertainment, and provoke people against me for coming to spy the land: for as soon as I set my foot on the other shore and ever since, afflictions have still accompanied me. Nor yet was I ever so much offended with any mans abuse, as therfor to think ill of the religion which I knew him to transgress. It is not to be expected that all the men of a kingdom should equally imbibe the religion of the place. It may well be par-

doned, if only one in four follow pure ſenſual natur as they received it from the womb, even amongſt the beſt profeſſions Religion is ſuperadded to nature as ſalt, and is ſeveral wayes imbibed by men. Som drink it in as water, and with a little labour are quite concorporated with it, and make as it were one body with the ſpirit thereof: ſuch were the glorious ſaints of the Church. Som take it in as powdered beef or other fleſh, unto a perfect ſeaſoning: yet ſo as that ſtill the fleſh is more, and hath the denomination: theſe are upright good men preſerved by the power of their religion from putrefaction and unſavorines, although they be men ſtill, upright men. Som take it in as clay in a leſs degree and more imperfect mixture, but yet they ſhew it in their lives and converſation, for it keeps them together, and if in one action they miſs of grace in another they recover it. But ſom again in the fourth place are like a marble ſtone or brick, which rubbed over with ſalt imbibes nothing: and ſuch as theſe have the name of religion upon them, nothing in them; and they may be met with every where, eſpecially in outward ſociety and commerce, for they are ſtill abroad, even when better people are retired, and ſometimes they will for their own intereſt get into incloſures too, where they procure much diſturbance and vexation to the ſaints. In a word catholick

reli-

religion is wondrous good and fruitful, as it was said of Canaan, and brings forth huge clusters of lovely grapes all over the land, but there be also giants and the sons of *Anak* to be met with there, and I escaped not their hands.

But God knew the innocence of my heart, and I believ his good angel supported me. For the main, I got the end I went for: and having passed through some part of Holland and Germany, France and Flanders, returned to my countrey, to participate of the miseries which our civil wars then commenced upon pretens of a purer reformation and further elongation from popery, did bring upon us. And out of the love I bear my protestant countrimen I set forth this little *Light*, that they may no more be inveigled to infect their hearts & hands with the hatred and ruin of the innocent. For catholick faith, which we call popery, is in it self a most sacred and pure religion: it makes million of saints, though it permit some bad ones; even as protestancy, which brings all things to a naked beleef that must suffice what ever life we lead, though it suffer some honest men not apt by the light of reason to transgres so oft as they may, makes a million of loos and wicked ones: but this is the difference, that there the few evil ones have som remors for doing ill, here the multitude of desperadoes have none at all. Catholicks cannot doubt of their

faith, if Christ who promised to be with his Church unto the worlds consummation, be a true Prophet: and again if he be a true prophet, then all reformers who joyntly affirm the Church to have failed for so many ages, must needs be in an errour. But I com to my travels and particular observations, so much as may serv to my present purpos.

§. 22.
Messach.

I Was edified and amazed to see catholick people flocking to Church, not upon sundaies only but every day in the week to their sacred orisons, the bells ringing to that purpos all the town over, not only every several hower in the morning until midday, but at vespers, compline, and even at midnight mattens, when all the religious of a kingdom are called up in the very depth of their sleep, to chant forth psalms hymnes and canticles to the prais and glory of the almighty. It delighted me to enter their Churches, which be kept so sweet and clean and in such a religious quiet retiredne, that it would make a man at his entrance into them, as they say of the kingdom in *Florida* in a sweet spring day, to forget wife and children and all worldly busines. But when I beheld the deep reverence and earnest devotion of the

the people, the majesty of their service, the gravity of their altars, the decency of their priests; *certainly*, said I within my self, *this is the hous of God and gate of heaven*: Alas, our Churches in England as they be now, be as short of those either for decency, use, or piety, as stables to a princely pallace: there they be upon their knees all the week long at their prayers, many of them constantly an hour together in the morning, and half an hour he that is least, and my hous saith God is the hous of prayer; but our Churches are either shut up all the week, or if they be open, are wholly taken up with boies, shouting, running and gamboling all about. On Sundaies indeed our people sit quiet and decently dresst; but to bow the knee is quite out of fashion; and if any one chance to do it, as he is rare to behold, so is he very nimble at it, and as soon up as down, as if he made a court-ship with his knees, or only tried if his nerves and sinews were as good to bow as stand upright. And our whole religious work here is to sit quietly whiles a minister speaks upon a text, conferring notes, answering difficulties, expounding words, drawing conclusions, and putting together for ampler dilucidation one text to another; as if he were reading to students in the school some piece of *Aristotles Perihermenias*. And thus we spend all our dayes ever learning and teaching, and our whole reli-

gion is to teach and learn, as if religion were only to lend the ear to one who cries *Hearken*; or an art of knowing how to ſpeak an hour upon two or three words of a vers; which for my part as I am well enough aſſured that it is not the great work of Chriſtian religion, ſo neither is it the true work of Chriſtian preaching; whether we conſult reaſon or preſidents of antiquity to find it. For as all ſermons left us by greek and latin fathers are grave ſhort and pithy, ſuch namely as they being all prieſts uſed to deliver at the altar between the Evangile and Creed; ſo ought they to be, and ever were moſt free from any ſuch verbal comparing of text with text, vers with vers, and the like various vanities which ſo take up our Engliſh preachings, that our ſermons be little or nothing els, and only ſerv to ſpend time and vent our own frivolous verboſity.

If it do happen that a more learned Proteſtant do make a ſermon of ſolid matter, as ſometimes they will, he will be ſure before he make an end by one conceit or other to have a fling at the *Papiſts*, to the end that people may think, as indeed they do, that Papiſts have no ſuch doctrine, though the preacher know himſelf that he got it all out of their books; which is a pretty piece of legerdemain, but very frequent in this land. Another thing I have obſerved, and it is worth obſervation, that of all

all the sermons I have ever heard in England, I have never known any to deliver *ex proposito* the proper and peculiar doctrin of protestancy, by which and for which we first revolted from the catholick Church; as that our good works be all mortal sins and damnable before God; that we have no will or power to do good or avoid evil; that the commandements of God are impossible to be kept, *&c.* but rather all contrary; as if we were ashamed of our own doctrin, and afraid to speak before the people what we know in reason could not but offend Christian ears: But all generally do preach, when they preach any good thing, the doctrin of catholicks; though ever abused with their own modes and mixtures. For every sect as it hath a peculiar spirit, so hath it a mode and vein and method proper to it self. The *Independent* speaks many good words, but inconsequent and unconnexed, so much roving up and down as if he had a mind to be prophet errant, and before he gives over, to say something of every thing. The *Presbyterian* ever pursues some Platonick idea, for example, the ingoings and outgoings of Christ, which is so thin and bodiles, that he is forced to assign six or seven wayes to discern it; then gives twelv consequent effects; nineteen wayes to get, *&c.* in which wayes he does even tire himself, as you may perceive by his melting and breathing when he comes to the high

high hills of *eighteenthly* and *nineteenthly*: and after som months labour and travel in these his wayes, at last with much ado he finishes his text; which before he handled it was good and easy doctrin, but is now by his tedious exercise rendered obscure intricate and full of doubts. The *Protestant* cuts his text out logically into so many parts, and then walks through them all with an even rhetorick, adorned with witty conceits and flowers of common places, still bringing up that parcel of the text he is handling with such proportion and measur in the close, that a man must needs say when he has done, that he has shewed a pretty featous piece of art. And when his, or Presbyterian or Independents sermon is ended, then is the great work of their religion done; though all to little purpos, for a dead mans foot, say what you will to him, will never warm his shooe.

But the Catholick, if he speak like himself, having gravely and Pithily prest the intention of the gospel for such a day unto the peoples practis and devotion, falls to the great works of sacrifice if it be in the morning, and of evensong in the afternoon, adoration, prayer and charity; which is the summe wherein his religion consists; and all his preaching servs but as a pair of bellows to make these coals burn. Nor does any good old Catholick, that is well grounded in the constant practis of his faith,

care

care at all for any further instruction; knowing aforehand that it can tend to nothing els than what before he knew, and yet endeavours to practis. For with him pure religion and undefiled is not to hear words but do deeds, to reliev the orphan and widow, and to keep our selves unspotted in this world; which unspottednes we attain by complying heart and hand unto the rule and sacraments of *Jesus* Christ. Nor did the primitive Christians for three hundred years, ever hear any sermon made to them upon a text all their whole life time, but meerly flocked together at their priests appointment, to their *Messach*, or *Dominicum*, or *Leiturgy*, or by what other name their Christian sacrifice was called, for they used many at several times to avoid the Pagans discovery. And it is most strang that we should pretend here in *England* to be Christians and the onely good ones, and yet reject those two great things which were by all Christendom esteemed in every age the very essences of Christianity, the Tribunal of absolution, and the great Legacy of *Jesus* his body to his spous the Church; insisting wholly upon preaching, which as it is an accidental and relative work of our Christianity, so is it common with us and all religions both Mahometan Jew and Pagan; whose sermons if any should hear he could not tell by the morality of the matter, to what religion they belonged.

It

It is hard to ſay, why againſt all the vogue of antiquity we ſhould be ſo violent as to aboliſh the Chriſtian ſacrifice, pull down the altars, baniſh the prieſthood, yea and perſecute it unto death, except we mean to repaganiſe our ſelvs. Our Proteſtant foreſathers when they firſt roſe, found manifeſtly all the Chriſtian world over, that this *Incruent ſacrifice* according to the order of *Melchiſedeck* was, and had ever been the ſum of all apoſtolical devotion; for which were built long ago by pious Catholicks our many ſhrines and altars, and goodly fair Churches, which hang now forlorn and deſolate in our hands like great dead carkaſſes after the ſoul is departed: for the inſhrined body of *Jeſus* was the life and ſoul of our Churches, which then died all of them when he departed, mouldring away ever ſince into duſt and rottennes. And therfore *Martin Luther* with his *Kate*, the Adam and Eve of Proteſtancy did not for that reaſon preſume to pull down the Altars, although they would not keep them up without the mixtur of ſom errour of their own. But we in *England* in our ſtrang heat tore down all, without either preſident of the catholick world or our own reforming foreſathers.

We cannot but ſee, if indeed we ſee any thing that every law and religion hath been ſtill annexed with a correſponding ſacrifice. Yea ſo

ſurely

ſurely and univerſally, that ſacrifice ſeems both to be born with religion, and with religion to be extinguiſhed. The firſt men who worſhipded God in the world as *Cain* and *Abel*, are ſaid to have don it with a ſacrifice: after the flood with religion again renewed was alſo ſacrifice renewed by *Noah*; and when afterwards through divers perſecutions religion was alſo brought into hazzard, nothing did the Prophets ſo much lament as the ceaſing of their ſacrifice, as may be ſeen in the book of *Kings* and *Daniel*. And not without reaſon; for all other kinds of good things offered or don to God are common alſo unto creatures; onely ſacrifice is a worſhip ſo due to the Almighty, as none either in heaven or earth may partake with him in it: and other ſacrifice properly ſo called, beſides this according to the order of *Melchiſedeck*, there never was any amongſt Chriſtians. For although faith, hope, and prais be by way of analogy called a ſacrifice, in an improper and tranſlated locution, to ſet forth the worth and acceptablenes of them; yet this is ſo far from derogating to the great and ſolemn ſacrifice properly ſo called, that it preſuppoſes and eſtabliſhes it: for the other could not have that analogical name, except that thing were unto which they may bear analogy: prais could not be commended as ſacrifice, if there were no ſuch thing as ſacrifice, whence the com-

commendation should be drawn, and to whose worth it should allude: as it were impertinent and fooliſh, to expreſs the ſweetnes of any oratory by the name of honey and ſugred rhetorick, if we did beleev there were no ſuch thing as honey and ſugar in nature. It is true alſo that the death of Chriſt upon the croſs was both a true and ſolemn ſacrifice: but that is paſſed away and is the object of our faith, not an external rite about which the Church may meet and com together at all times to worſhip God, as is this repreſentation of it which our Lord inſtituted for that very end before his death. Nor is the paſſion of our Lord proper to us Chriſtians alone, as the real figuration of it which himſelf inſtituted; for all the ſacrifices of the old law were accepted in order to that paſſion to com, even as ours in reſpect of it now paſt.

And ſince there were true ſacrifices in the old law amongſt the Jews, why ſhould there not be alſo in the new which is believed to be more perfect; about which Chriſtians ſhould aſſemble to offer up with it, and in order to it all their requeſts and praiſes? For Chriſt our Lord took not away thoſe things which God his father in the old law inſtituted, as being not contrary to him, but only perfected and changed them into better things, both precepts, ſacraments and ſacrifice too. And of this laſt it behooved him

to

to be more careful then all the reſt; for otherwiſe, ſith ſacrifice is the onely worſhip proper and peculiar unto God, by utterly taking it away, he had not augmented but diminiſhed his Fathers glory. All other kinds of worſhip we Chriſtians have for certain which the Jews ever had, invocation, adoration, vowes, hymnes, feaſts, faſts, faith, hope, charity and prais; muſt only that which only is proper to the almighty be excluded? eſpecially ſith we have all the reaſons to honour God by ſacrifice the Jews ever had: we are an extern and viſible congregation as they were; we have the paſſion of the Meſſias to be repreſented before our eyes now with us paſt, as with them it was to com; we have the ſame God with the higheſt worſhip to be honoured, for our ſins to be appeaſed, for favours to be invocated, for received benefits to be praiſed.

But if any will be contentious and not heed all this, which is nothing but pious reaſon, let him look upon the primitive Church in the apoſtles time whereof we have ſome clear footſteps delivered us in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; and he ſhall find that the apoſtles and apoſtolical Chriſtians placed their religion, not in hearing or making ſermons, for they had none; but in attending to their Chriſtian liturgy; and all antiquity will atteſt it. The ſermons mentioned in that book were only in defence of Chriſtianity,

made

made to the Jews and Pagans for their conversion, not to any Christians at all: Such was St. *Peters* first speech to the Jews and Gentiles that brake in amongst the Christians in Jerusalem after their *Messach* ended, and the holy Ghost fallen upon them, c. 2. after this to other Jews, c. 3. c. 5. then to *Cornelius* a pagan, c. 10. So likewise spake S. *Stephen* to the Hebrew Priests and Jews, c. 7. St. *Philip* to the Ethiopian Eunuch, c. 8. St. *Paul* to the synagogue in *Pisidia*, c. 13. to others in *Iconium*, c. 14. to Gentiles in *Macedonia*, c. 16. again to other Jews in *Thessalonica*, and heathen Philosophers in *Athens*, c. 17. both S. *Paul* and *Apollo* to the Jewes at *Corinth* and *Ephesus*, c. 18. c. 19. at *Troas* also he defended Christ and his religion against all that resisted it, speaking even till midnight, c. 20. but this was a dispute, (and so the text calls it) rather than a preaching; and made *una sabbati*, saith the same text, *cum convenissemus ad frangendum panem*; so that it was not the work they came together for, but an additament to it. So likewise he spake to other Jewes in *Jerusalem*, c. 22. to *Felix* and *Agrippa* painims, c. 24 c. 26. to the Jews in *Rome* for their conversion, c 28. And no where was ever sermon made to formal Christians, either by St. *Peter* or *Paul*, or any other, as the work of their religion they came together for: nor be there other sermons in that book but what I have mentioned. Nor did the

Chri-

Christians ever dream of serving God after their conversion by any such means, but onely by their Eucharistian *leiturgy*, and *sacrifice*, bread-fraction, or *Messach*, as is apparent in that book. I will mention but one place in the beginning of the 13. ch. which speaks thus; *Ministrantibus illis Domino & jejunantibus dixit Spiritus sanctus, &c.* Whiles they were administring to our Lord and fasting, the holy Ghost said, Separate me *Paul* and *Barnabas*; λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, which *Erasmus* renders well and truly, *sacrificantibus illis Domino*; which one text gives double testimony both to apostolical *sacrifice*, and priestly *ordination*. For that ministerial function no man can doubt but that it was a publick work of religion; and it could be no other than their great Christian Sacrifice, as the words do manifestly import; since it was made τῷ κυρίῳ *to our Lord*; for other inferiour ministeries of the word and Sacraments are not made to God but to the people; but the apostles were λειτουργοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ, administring, leiturgying, *sacrificing to* our Lord, when this segregation of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from the laiety to the clergy, which cannot otherwise be imagined to be done but by sacerdotal consecration, was to be effected. And all that whole book testifies sufficiently that the apostles and primitive Christians ever came together to their *Dominicum*, or *Eucha-*

riſt, to their *liturgy* or *Meſſuch*, and not to any ſermon, not *ad audiendum concionem*, but *ad frangendum panem*.

It would griev any Chriſtian heart to ſee the poor Catholicks of *England* ſo miſerably haraſſed, pillaged, impriſoned, hated, hanged by their own allies and countreymen, as they have been now a hundred years, for the profeſſion of that great work of Chriſtianity which Chriſt and his apoſtles taught them; and that they ſhould undergo the ſame diſgrace and ruin by ſuch as call themſelves Chriſtians, yea the only pure ones, for that very ſelf ſame act of Religion, for which both the Apoſtles themſelves and all primitive Chriſtians were ſo cruelly perſecuted by Jew and Pagan. But the God of mercies look in his good time both upon the perſecutour and ſufferer, with compaſſion and favour; them, becaus they have done it ignorantly in incredulity; theſe, becaus for his fear and love they have perſevered hitherto through many great afflictions in his ſervice, and patiently withſtood all oppoſition even unto bloodſhed and death until this day. But Catholicks had their leſſon read them long ago, and they have it by heart by this time. *They will*, ſaith their Lord and maiſter, *lay their hands upon you and perſecute you, delivering you into cuſtody and priſons, dragging you before Kings and preſidents for my names ſake: and ye ſhall be betraied by parents,*

parents, children, kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you they will put to death, and ye shall be a hatred unto all men for my name: but who shall persevere unto the end he shall be saved. But I hope our countreymen will at length discern their own dangerous mistake, and perceiv with me that the Popish *Mass*, which is the old apostolical devotion merits not the hatred and mischief we have either wrought or intended the observers of it in our land.

Hitherto we have no reason to hate popery, upon the account of their *Messach*; which is indeed the chiefest piece of our division, and occasion of the many contumelies we put upon them; especially considering that in our own Communion, so far as it goes, we do but imitate great part of it, and that in their very words.

§. 23.

B. Virgin.

ALL Catholicks I could ever see or hear or read of, bear a most devout respect to the *Virgin MARY*, whom others care not how they villifie and dishonour either by their words or writings: and I cannot but dislike this our uncivil carriage, to say no wors of it, as much as I do approve of their piety. Surely that *Virgin* of whom God would be incarnate, and with whom he lived so many years together, must

needs be a perſon of ſtrang perfection, and worthy of great eſteem amongſt all ſuch as worſhip her *Son*, and look upon him indeed as their Redeemer. He that loves him that begets, ſaith the good apoſtle, loves him that is begotten; and I ſhould think he that worſhips him that is begotten, muſt needs have ſome reſpect for her that bare him. The bleſſed *Virgin* was her ſelf ſo confident of this, that ſhe was bold to ſay, *Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes*, all generations, all nations, ſaith ſhe, ſhall call me Bleſſed. And ſurely if this be true, and in goſpel it paſſes for divine words we that inſtead of calling her Bleſſed preſume ſo highly to villifie and blaſpheme her even in our publick ſtreets, for which in catholick countries we ſhould be in danger of being ſtoned to death by the people, ſhow our ſelvs to be a nation that belongs not to the *Magnificat*. Indeed all here amongſt us are not ſo rude, but ſuch as be, are neither puniſhed nor queſtioned for it. And what in the name of God hath the Virgin *Mary* don to us, what ill or harm hath ſhe ever wrought us, that any Engliſh Chriſtian ſhould caſt ſo many gibes, and ſhow ſo much diſeſteem to that bleſſed creatur, whom the whole catholick world, the angels of heaven, nay our Lord himſelf, and that great God that made heaven and earth have ſet in ſo high a place of honour. Will our incivility, as it hath no ground or rea-

reaſon, admit likewiſe of no limits? It may be feared that the ſpirit of Lutheraniſme is ſome very foul one; for it hath moved the profeſſours of it in ſeveral places unto moſt unſeemly language and higheſt diſeſteem of every thing that is venerable. Not only princes and prelates, prieſts and altars, ſhrines and ſacrifice, byſhops and their ſacred ordinations, the real preſence, tribunal of our reconciliation and the like; but the very ſaints and angels of heaven, nay the moſt innocent bleſſed *Maid*, whom the very Turks do honour to this day, and, that ſhe may not be thought the wors of for that, an angel from heaven ſaluted by the mandate and in the name of him who is primogenial Life and ſubſtantial Truth with the title of κεχαριτωμένη, *Moſt beloved and Gratious*, eſcape not the laſh of our lips and pens. And yet this is not all neither.

Do not I know that the primitive proteſtants in forreign parts have uttered, ſome openly, ſome more obſcurely, in their writings many odde words againſt the very honour of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, although our more moderate Church of England I am confident hates them for it. Did not *Calvin* taunt at his ignorance and paſſion and too much haſte for his breakfaſt, when he curſt the figtree that had no fruit upon it when he ſought it? if he had ſtudied catholick divines they would have

taught him a more modeſt and pious interpretation, than that idle wicked one of his own. Did not *Michael Servetus* that bold apoſtate Spaniſh youth ſpeak openly amongſt his fellow proteſtants in *Geneva*, that he wondered that they had raiſed all their controverſies ſo many as they had againſt the Church which is named the body of Chriſt, and yet never a one againſt Chriſt the head of that body? did not *Valentine Gentile* that unhappy Italian, after he had revolted to *Calvin*, take it ill that all the reformed Churches agreed yet with the papiſts in the beleef of a Trinity? and with him ſided *Matheus Gribaldus*, *Liſmanin*, *Francis David*, and *Jacobus Paleologus*, though this laſt recanted afterward, and returned happily to his catholick faith. And who knows not that *Luther*, *Brentius*, *Calvin*, *Suinglius*, yea and *Eraſmus* too (who though he yet remained catholick would be nibling now and then at Arrian and Socinianiſme) let fly many a ſecret dart at Chriſt and the ſacred Trinity? though they were not yet ſo bold as to profeſs openly with ſom others of their brethren, whom they ſaw to ſuffer in their repute for it, any ſuch opinion; till they found the world in a more forward diſpoſition to accept it: And all theſe bent their bowes and fitted their arrowes to the ſtring, that if not openly yet at leaſt in the dark and in *Lunâ obſcura*, as the prophet

phraſes

phraſes it, they might ſhoot and hit every thing that is ſacred; even Chriſt himſelf. So true it is, that he who loves him that begets, loves him that is begotten, and he that hates the one does not truly love the other.

But the penmen of our creed and goſpel, who made honourable mention of the *Virgin Mary*, were of another ſpirit, than we be that ſo much diſhonour her; although for faſhion ſake we read over thoſe holy penmens words. A certain proteſtant byſhop did not many years ago examin a catholick child that ſtood before him if he could ſay his prayers; the boy replying yes, ſaid firſt his *Pater Noſter*, after that began his *Ave Maria*, which catholicks uſe to repeat in memory of Chriſts incarnation; at which words, nay, quoth the byſhop, *let her alone, let her alone, we have nothing to do with her.* The child went on to his Creed, and when he came to *conceptus eſt de ſpiritu ſancto natus ex*——he ſodainly ſtopt; and *ſhe is here again*, quoth the child, *ſhe is here again my Lord, what ſhall I do with her now*; after a little pauſe, you may let her paſs, quoth the byſhop, in your Creed, in your Creed my child, but not in your prayers. As though we might have faith, but neither hope nor charity for her.

But if we ſeriouſly conſider the ſpirit of thoſe who wrote either our Goſpel or Creed, we ſhall

find that of Roman Catholicks to have a most near consanguinity with it, and loving them we cannot hate these for the respect they bear his virgin Mother whom we all worship.

§. 24.

Figures.

IN all places where I came, I beheld great store of pictures and images in Churches of Roman catholicks; which being in the postures either of their bloody martyrdoms which for their religion they underwent, or apostolical sacrifice, or sacred retirements, meditations, or other exercise of their faith hope or charity, either towards God or their neighbours, apostles, martyrs, confessours, hermites, monks, virgins, kings, queens, byshops, as they made a goodly show, so did they mightily assist the fansy unto a more united thought of the religion people came into the Church to fulfil and solemnise. But the altar is seldom without the pourtraicts of *Jesus* and his *Virgin Mother*, never without the *Crucifix*. The sight of all which is apt to cast into the mind of such as enter into the Church, that meditation of the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews; *Non accessistis ad tractabilem montem & accensibilem ignem*, &c. "Ye "are not com to the high towring mount, flaming fire and whirlwind, and darknes and "storm

"ſtorm and ſound of trumpet, and nois of "words which they that heard excuſed themſelvs, and requeſted to hear it no more, and "it ſeemed ſo terrible that Moyſes himſelf "ſtood trembling and affrighted; but ye are "come to Mount Sion, to the city of our li-"ving God, to celeſtial Jeruſalem and ſociety "of angels, the Church of primitive Chriſti-"ans conſcript in heaven, to God the Judg of "all, to the ſpirits of juſt perfect men, to Je-"ſus the mediatour of a new teſtament, and to "the aſperſion of blood ſpeaking better things "than Abel.

And all theſe repreſentations, ſo much concurring to devotion and piety as they do, the doctrin and men who tore them down and caſt them out of our Engliſh Churches, and broke and hewed them in pieces with ſo much rage, could not be any friends whatever they might pretend, either to our mount Sion or the city of our living God, the celeſtial Jeruſalem, ſociety of angels, the Church of primitive Chriſtians, or to the ſpirits of juſt men perfected, or to Jeſus mediatour of the new teſtament, or laſtly to the aſperſion of blood ſpeaking better things than Abel; all which was there pourtraicted and deſcribed.

It is the judgment of all men that the violation of an Image redounds to the Prototype: and therefor Kings not only in Chriſtendom, but

but beyond it uſe to puniſh a grand traitour either deceaſed or fled even in his *effigie*. Every particular perſon loves to behold the picture of him he eſteems, and again if he hate the perſon he deteſts the face: thus even our late rebells here in England after they had murthered our good King, ſhot his pictures with bullets, and broke them with their cimiters and ſpears all the land over. *Thy adverſaries*, ſaith the Prophet, *have roared* and *raged* in the midſt of thy ſynagogues, and for *thy enſigns* have ſet up their own *banners*; as once of thoſe who with ſtrong axes cut up the thickeſt of *timber* unto the temples ſtructure it was eſteemed an honourable and noble work in them; ſo is it counted now if any on the contrary break in pieces *thy ſculptures* with axe and hammers: they were Gods enemies then that did all this, and that brake down his ſculptures; and by thoſe very works of theirs concluded to be his enemies by a great Prophet, who well enough underſtood who was Gods friend and who his foe. And he could not be ignorant of that, by the very knowledg he had of the law of Moſes, which did as carefully forbid the violation of any thing ſacred to the true God, as it commanded the extirpation of all things uſed by the gentiles in honour of their fals gods to whom no ſuch honour belonged. "These are the pre-
"cepts and judgments, ſaith Moſes, *Deut* 12.
"which

"which ye ought to do in the land which the "Lord God of your fathers is to give you, "that ye may poſſeſs it all your dayes. Over-"throw all the places, wherin the Gentiles "whoſe poſſeſſions you enter upon, have wor-"ſhipped; their gods upon the high hills, and "under every green tree; diſſipate their altars, "break their ſtatues, burn their groves, daſh "their idols in pieces, and deſtroy their names "from the earth. But ye ſhall not do ſo, to "your Lord God. Ye ſhall not do ſo in any of the forenamed particulars, ſaith Rabbi *Maimony* an eminent doctour amongſt the Hebrews, unto your Lord God, who deſervs thoſe and all other ſorts of worſhip at your hands; you ſhall not deſtroy his name, nor daſh in pieces his images, nor burn his groves, nor break his ſtatues nor diſſipate his altars, nor overthrow the places wherein he is worſhipped: Your Lord is a jealous God, and will not have either the honour which is due to himſelf given to any other, nor that withheld him which to himſelf is due. *You ſhall not do ſo to your Lord God.* When therefor we ſet up the ſtatues or build the altars of any fals god, we do as much as in us lies make him a true one; and when we either diſſipate the altars or break the images, or daſh in pieces the ſtatues or deſtroy the memorials of a true God, we make him a fals one; that honour and diſhonour don

to

to the Figure, and things consecrated to his service and memory, still redounding upon him; in whose memory and service they were consecrated. And by this rule, when we dissipated the altars and brake the images of *Jesus Christ*, in that very day we did in effect deny him to be our Lord God any more. And no marvail then, we should fall into so many strang confusions about religion since that time; our *great Lord*, being so highly villified by our hands, and giving us up to the strang blindnes and disorder which is now amongst us.

If any would consider the constitutions and exigence of mans nature, he would soon find not only the convenience but necessity of such helps as images and ocular representations afford us: for the fansy hath nothing but what it receives from the senses, and the intellect works upon nothing but what it has from fansy; and therefor did God make man in the last place after heaven and earth was framed, to the end that in so great a variety of sensible objects he might finde something to think of even in the first instant of his being; whereas if he had been made before other things, he had stood like a stock or stone without any possibility of a thought. Now nothing administers to the fansy and consequently to the mind with that variety and life and power as doth the eye: the supplies of the ear are but dead

dead things to it, especially in the account of exciting desire and love: let Cicero speak a whole day upon the beauties of a princely seat, countrey, city, man or woman; yet when the eye comes once to see the thing in its own properties, it discerns and represents more at one glance than could his or all the oratory in the world ever by the help of the ear imprint into the mind. Indeed who is so ignorant, that he has not observed ere this, that the eye has a hundred-fold the actuosity of the ear: nor is it unknown what strange melting affections are caused in the heart by a continual sight and meditation of some sacred pictur of the *Crucifix*; when sermons float by and effect little or nothing in comparison; even as worldly objects so long as they are coached in aiery words pass away like wind, but once seated in the throne of the eye they move impetuously. Nor can all the ministers in the world give me a reason, why the eye in a sacred purpos may not have the helps of her species, as well as the ear have hers; or why the mind, that is to be moved and can never be moved too much in such things, may not as well have the quicker as duller assistance. For when any one preaches upon the Passion of Christ, does he do any thing els but labour to work out such representations in the ear and minde as oratory may effect, for the moving of affections correspond-

reſponding to ſuch an object: and if ſuch good meditations put into a book of devotion be aſſiſted with an ocular repreſentation which is more quick and full, and carries more of life with it, what harm is it? ſurely he that deprives me of the more lively helps, never means whatever he pretend, I ſhould have any cordial feeling of the things he talks of.

And verily the Proteſtant pretenſes for their removal of Images out of our Churches are but ſimple ones, and the ſimpler they be the better it ſeems they ſerve the deluded vulgar. Firſt ſay they *God has in his commandements forbidden the making of graven images*: Good, and has he ſo? do you not find too that he commanded it: ſee if he did not give order in the ſame Scripture for *Cherubins* and *Seraphins* to be made and ſet up in his *ſanctum ſanctorum* over the ark? what then, did God or Moſes forget himſelf, and contradict his own words? or are you blind? or only catholicks fools? or what is the matter. Look ſeriouſly and you ſhall find that *Moſes* forbad prophane and forreign images, but he commanded his own: though he diſliked the ugly face of *Molech*, *Dagon* and *Aſtaroth*, yet did not he therefor will his people ſhould tear down his own *Cherubins*. And Chriſtians likewiſe have not any images of *Simon Magus* although they have St. *Peters*; the *Crucifix* they will keep

and

and use and honour, not the portraict of *Him* with a cloven foot: if they esteem the memory and effigies of great *Constantine*, yet not of wicked *Diocleſian*; if we find in their Churches the image of blessed S. *Bennet* or good Saint *Francis*, yet shall we never meet there with the face of *Luther* or *Calvin*: so that here in the the catholick Church as well as in Moses Law is both, *Thou shalt make graven images*, and again *Thou shalt not*.

Thus much Anticatholicks might themselves understand, if they would consider any thing seriously, by the very words of the text. *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image*: not make *to thy self*. As if he had said, when you com into the land amongst the gentiles, let none of you be inveigled either by their example or words, to make *to himself* any of the images he shall see there set up by the inhabitants, contrary to the ceremonies of Moses and practis of the synagogue, which doth so honour her own Cherubins, that she abominates all idols and their sculptures. And thus if any Catholick should make *to himself* and upon his own head and fansy, contrary to what is allowed, any peculiar image of the planets for example, or wicked men to worship it for sacred, I beleev he will be punished for his transgression. So that images are not forbidden in the general notion of images, but only of such or

such

ſuch a kind; as if I ſhould forbid my ſervant who travels with me into *France* and keeps my purs, to make *unto himſelf* any clothes; I intend not that he ſhall go naked, but only that he make no clothes, but what and when and in what faſhion I approve. Secondly they ſay, it is idolatry. But this is ſpoken without logick. Except the thing repreſented be an idol, devil, or ſomthing oppoſite to God, or below man, whom yet he will worſhip; the honour and uſe of the image cannot be idolatry. If I may reſpect and love the perſon, I may love and reſpect the image too; ſith this my eſteem is terminated ultimatly only upon the prototype. *Moſes* never feared idolatry with his own *Cherubins*, and yet he had as much reaſon to fear it, as the Chriſtian Church can have. The honour of an image is but a natural reſultancy from the exemplar repreſented in it, and this can be no other affection but what is due to that: as any man may perceive by four ſeveral images ſet before him, the firſt of his king, the other of his father, a third of his ſweet-heart, a fourth of his mortal adverſary: upon the ſight of all which he conceivs, and can conceiv no other but that paſſion he bears the prototype or thing reſembled, honour to one, duty to the other, tender love to the third, and hateful diſaffection to the laſt. Now that the Saints and angels of God, ſpirits aſſiſting to Gods glory

glory and worſhip, and adminiſtring to our neceſſities deſerv a veneration at our hands, I ſhal ſpeak anon; and from the image can reſult no other but what is their due. As they be no Gods, ſo neither can their image make them ſo: the image of my enemy makes him not my ſweet heart, nor can the picture of my neighbour make him my king: And how can the repreſentation of Gods ſaints and ſervants make them otherwiſe than what they are. But all theſe petty arguments are taken from the rancourous *Jewes*, who were never bent againſt images in general, till they ſaw the Chriſtians to keep and worſhip the Figure of *Jeſus Chriſt* whom they all hated.

And if Proteſtants can love Jeſus Chriſt *crucified*, and hate the repreſentation of his *croſs*; which two things how they can conſiſt together no reaſon of man can comprehend; yet let us not maligne the *innocent Papiſts* for doing that which the reaſon of all mankind allows. What perſon ſoever I may love, I may like his image alſo.

§. 25.
Tongues.

THe catholick liturgy is and ever was all over the Weſtern Empire in the *Latin* language. This general cuſtom of keeping both

maſs and bible in an unknown tongue from vulgar hands, as it may be made to carry with it a plauſible ſurmiſe either of fraud or envy; ſo hath it been the great engine uſed by Proteſtants, both to draw and keep a vaſt number of people from the boſom of the catholick Church. The buſines of Scripture I have already hinted at: For catholicks have the ſumm of ſcripture both for hiſtory and dogme, delivered them in their own language, ſo much as may make for their ſalvation; good orders being ſet and inſtituted for their proficiency therein. And what needs any more? or why ſhould they be further permitted either to ſatisfy curioſity, or rais doubts, or to wreſt words and examples there recorded unto their own ruin, as we ſee now by experience men are apt to do. Beſides the book is ſacred and therefor not to be ſullied with every hand. What God hath *ſanctified*, let not man make *common*. It is againſt the natur of a thing ſegregated to divine uſe, to be vulgarly mixt with our prophane utenſils, and touch and talkings; and indeed it is a contradiction in tearms; for if it be ſegregated from them, how is it mixed with them? if it be myſterious, how can it be vulgar. And this is the judgment of the whole world, both preſent and paſt: Not onely Mahometans and Pagans who evermore kept the book that ſpake forth the ſecrets of their religion

gion ſtill in that one language it was delivered in; but the Hebrewes too, as well as the Chriſtian Church: Nor was the bible, the law of Moſes, or the prophets, or hagiography, ever put out of their hebrew into ſyriack, either in Moſes time or after, either by his command or any permiſſion of the high prieſts that followed. Nay, it was ſo far from that, that it was not touched or looked upon by the people even in its own language, but kept privately in the ark or tabernacle, and brought forth at times to the prieſt, who might upon the ſabboth day, which is our ſaturday, read ſom part of it to the people, and put them in minde of their laws, religion and duty. Whereas the Chriſtian bible is in the hands of all who underſtand either greek or latin. So great is the indulgence of the Catholick Church, and ſo good an opinion hath ſhe above all others of her children; though every one is not permitted to prattle and diſpute about it, as I think no wiſe man will think it fit they ſhould. And this retiredne ſs of ſacred doctrin and rare approach unto the eye and ear with high reverence and ſolemnity, works in the minds of people a wonderful great awe and impreſſion of reſpect; whereas familiar uſage renders it contemptible. Indeed after that ſacred book becomes once to be ſlightly thrown about with ordinary touch and tongue, what doth it work but ſelf will and

conceit, contentions, pride ſchiſmes and wars? experience hath proved it: for every one hath a text both to defend himſelf and oppoſe his neighbour, whether it be in earneſt, or as it often happens in ſport and jeſt, whether wrong or rightly applied.

Nor can the Bible be well tranſlated; for the original carries oftentimes ſo great a latitude and amplitude of ſenſes, that it cannot be brought into a vulgar tongue without confineing the ſignification, to the great alteration, and perhaps ſubverſion of the holy penmans intention. Beſides, when men write or ſpeak with a ſpecial peculiarity of ſpirit, as all indeed do, but thoſe holy writers much more; this *genius* of theirs is ſo lapt up in their own words or ſounds, that by tranſmigration out of the coverture in which that Spirit was born and bred, as a ſnail in her ſhell, it doth in a manner quite expire and vaniſh. We find daily, that books tranſlated out of one tongue into another loſe much of their connatural grace and ſweetneſs, if not all the whole genuine power and life they carried in their own character. So tickliſh and volatile a thing is that hidden *genius* couched in the rinde of mens words. Nor is a man better known by his face than writings; I mean, if he draw his diſcours and ſens out of his own bowels: for otherwiſe, if he be only a book botcher or collectour out of other authours,

thours; it will ſignifie little; which I take to be the reaſon, why many ſpiritual books written in theſe times out of antient contemplatives, although the matter is the ſame and the language mended, yet be they in theſe penmen but dry unſavory ſtuff, which in the firſt authour was a fragrant raviſhing devotion; the good things therin contained have by their tranſmigration loſt their own ſpirit; and the latter authour, if ſo I may call him, had not another to give them anſwerable to their nature. By all this I would ſay thus much, that the Bible tranſlated out of its own ſacred phraſe into a prophane and common one, loſes both its own property and amplitude of meaning, and is likewiſe deveſted of its peculiar majeſty, holines, and ſpirit: which is reaſon enough if there were no other, why it ſhould be kept inviolate in its own ſtile and ſpeech. Sacred doctrin like the perſons is not to paſs *de domo in domum*, but remain under that roof which firſt covered them. And as for peoples inſtructions, it is, as I ſaid before, to be made by the prieſts and paſtours of the religion, on whoſe lips the ſacred knowledg hangs, and thence drops down upon the aſſembly, out of that book according to occaſion and times, as holy Church whoſe book that is ſhall judge it fit. We commit not to children the whole pot of *honey*, whereby they may ſurfeit and hurt themſelvs, but give them only ſome few

drops upon a ſtick of licoras, ſo much as they can digeſt and make uſe of for their health.

And if the book wherin religious rites be grounded lawfully may, and in reaſon ought, and in practiſe ever hath been kept ſegregated in a language not common to vulgar ears, much more are the ſacred ſolemn rites themſelvs to be performed in a tongue that is ſegregated from common uſe, anſwerable to the Book according to which they be executed: which cuſtom as it renders that great *Act* more majeſtick and venerable, ſo doth it carry with it much of convenience and no inconvenience at all. For thus the Church all over the world, as oppoſite to *Babel*, wherein were ſo many diviſions of tongues, ſhall as in heart and faith ſo alſo in lip and language be unanimous and linked together; and the great work of Religion, wherein all Chriſtian people from one coaſt of heaven to another do unanimouſly conſpire, be ſo uniformly executed, that men may in all places of the world meet with their own Chriſtian Church in one mode and faſhion, both to acknowledg and joyn with it in their oriſons. Nor could otherwayes any one prieſt ſerve in ſeveral countries, or adminiſter preſently in a place which himſelf or others with him had converted: for which caus men ſtudying to get that one language, which is ſtretched as large and wide as is the catholick

Church

Church throughout the world, have in all places one tongue, and that no hard one to convers withal; which did not the Church uſe it in her rites would in time be utterly neglected. The Hebrew Church being immured in one kingdom had not thoſe many reaſons which her younger ſiſter, whoſe territories are extended from Eaſt to Weſt hath, to keep her rites in a language differing from the vulgar; and yet ſhe did ſo.

Inconvenience in this practis there can be none aſſigned, but only this; that if the latin tongue be uſed at the altar, then cannot the vulgar people underſtand what is ſaid. But this is not of any moment. For firſt the people have all the whole ſcope and purpoſe and frame of ſacred liturgy ſet down in their own prayer-books, and if they will, in their hearts and mind; whereby they may if they pleas as equally conſpire, and go along with the prieſt in their devotions, as if he ſpake in the mother tongue. Secondly catholick people come together not for other buſineſs at the Maſs, but only with fervour of devotion to adore Chriſt crucified, in that rite he is there prefigured as crucified before them, and by the mediation of that ſacred blood to pour forth their ſupplications for themſelvs and others; which being don, and their good purpos of ſerving and pleaſing that holy Lord that ſhed his blood for us renewed,

they depart in peace: This is the general purpos of the Mass; so that eyes and hands to lift up, knees to bow, and hearts to melt, are there of more use, than ears to hear. But thirdly there is no need at all for the people either to hear or understand the Priest when he speaks and prayes and sacrifices to God in their behalf: Sermons to the people must be made in the peoples language; but prayers presented to God for them if they be made in a language that God understands, it is enough.

This was well enough conceived by the whole congregation of Israel who commonly stood in vaste multitudes without, in a large outward court, when the priest entered his *sanctum sanctorum*, to offer and pray for them, who all the while were so far from hearing that they could not see him: this if any doubt, he may both discern it in the old law, and in our gospel too; where *Zacharias* is said to be praying at the altar when all the people stood without. Why then may not the younger sister Church of Christians likewise pleas and pacify her heavenly father, with sacred words and rites addressed unto him in the behalf of the people, although these do not understand, nay not so much as hear what is said. And what matters it, if I pray for a friend whether he hear me or no, so that God unto whom I pray do hear and accept of my humble addresses. St. *Paul* wrote to

Rome

Rome from Corinth moſt heartily in his letters requeſting their prayers; and he eſteemed it as good, as if he had himſelf been by and heard it; and yet the catholick altar is not ſo far from the people, as Corinth is from Rome. Wherefor in St. *Pauls* judgment one may pray for another; not only prieſt for the people, but people alſo for the prieſt, without being underſtood, and ſo much as either heard or ſeen. Nor could St. *Paul* in his own reaſon ever deny the efficacy of thoſe prayers which be made for another in any whatever language, for it was all one to him what language the Romans ſpake; and if he did reflect upon it, he could not be ignorant that they ſpake not the language of Corinth, when he wrote to them from thence, that they ſhould pray for him there at ſo great a diſtance.

But if any will yet be obſtinate, and object unto me that S. *Paul* himſelf even in his epiſtle he wrote to Corinth from Epheſus, which was his firſt letter he ſent to that people, ſpeaks there about the end of the ſame letter very much againſt their praying and propheſying in an unknown tongue; he may know firſt, that even the tongue of the Romans, whoſe prayers notwithſtanding S. *Paul* ſo earneſtly requeſted at Corinth, was an unknown tongue to thoſe that lived there, and yet that wiſe apoſtle would not we may think contradict himſelf:

ſelf: Secondly then, what was the matter? The buſines was this. Ther was in the primitive Churches up and down, many gifts and gratuities beſtowed upon Chriſtian people by that holy Spirit, who would therby exalt the goſpels glory, as extemporary propheſies, working of miracles, gift of tongues, and the like; and S. *Paul* hearing at Epheſus of ſome diſorders in Corinth upon that account, as thoſe kind of gifts are poſſible to be abuſed, he wrote to them about it, to let them know that the ſpirit of *Jeſus* for ſuch his voluntary donations unto men was indeed to be praiſed; but yet that Chriſtians ſhould not therefore place in thoſe things their utmoſt glory: and then to diminiſh further the huge eſteem they had there of gifts and tongues before all other, he lets them know that of all other gifts, that in particular was liable to the greateſt inconveniences, even far more than either wonder-working or prophecy. This is the apoſtles driſt as any one may ſee that underſtands a grave and ſober letter. But what is all this to any ſervice of the Church.

But thirdly that I may make the thing yet a little plainer; the Latin in which the Catholick ſervice is kept is no unknown tongue, and therefor that objection of no valiew againſt it. Ther is no tongue in the world can be ſaid abſolutely either a known tongue or unknown,

but

but only with relation unto people; and so every language in the world is in respect of som people a known tongue, and in respect of others an unknown. English is an unknown tongue to Vienna, but not to London; high Dutch is an unknown tongue to London, but not to Vienna: And therfor that we may conclude a tongue to be known or unknown, we muſt compare it to the family or people in reference to whom it is uſed, and no otherwis: and that family or people muſt be considered, not in any other reſpects if they have many, but only in relation to that particular rank or order which refers unto ſuch a language. An Engliſh merchant living in Anwerp, hath two languages which himſelf and family ſpeaks, Engliſh and Dutch, and both of them in reference both to England and Holland jointly, may be called both known tongues, and unknown: but in his buſines with the Engliſh, Dutch is the unknown tongue, in his Holland affairs, Engliſh. So the Pope as he is governour and lord of the city of Rome ſpeaks Italian as other people there do, and it is the only known tongue in that degree and order; but as he is head of the whole Church ſpread over the earth, which is a myſtical body diſtinct from the body politick, and hath a language of its own differing from the Italian, that paſſes through Germany, France and Spain, both Indies and the Iſlands, the north and ſouth world,

world, whereſoever Chriſtians live, ſo he uſes and ſpeaks that general language which is latin: and in that ſens Italian is an unknown, and Latin only the known tongue of the Chriſtian world. So that in order to religion that one language that is ſpoken not in one corner, but runs quite through the hous; and is common to all as they be ranked in the ſeries of Chriſtianity, wherein they are trained up by the father of the family, and which in reference to religion he only uſes himſelf, is the only known tongue in order to it, and all other tongues unknown. And ſo not latin but dutch, not latin but ſpaniſh, not latin but french, not latin but engliſh is an unknown tongue to the Chriſtian world, for all theſe though they be the known languages of particular kingdoms, which be but a corner of Chriſtianity, yet not they but latin is the known language of the whole Chriſtian body and family through the world. The hous of God is but one in it ſelf, although it be diſperſt over ſeveral nations, and the language fitted for all the body muſt conſequently be but one, wherin all thoſe nations ar united and linked together exteriourly, even as they be joined interiourly in faith, which in that one tongue is carried up and down and conſerved; and all other tongues, engliſh, french, ſpaniſh be accidental to Chriſtians as they be Chriſtians, even as the times and places of their abode

abode be, nor be they be faſtned unto them by their Chriſtianity, but by corporal birth and education, which be contingent and altogether accidental to religion. So then latin in reference to religion, which for reaſons abovenamed muſt uſe one language, is ſo far from being an unknown tongue, that it is the only one known language of the Chriſtian world, united to Chriſtian faith as the proper garment to a body, by whoſe faſhion it is diſcerned.

I know that a part of the Church uſeth greek in her Liturgy, and ſom few people Hebrew, as well as the generality does Latin. But I mention only the latin tongue, becaus my countrimen take notice only of that. And all the three languages agree in this, that they are ſegregated from vulgar uſe, conſecrated by the croſs of the Meſſias, approved by the general paſtour, and equally liable to the preſent objection, which is ſo trufatical that it caſts not the leaſt blemiſh upon popery for that cuſtom: and I hope all wiſe men will be of my mind.

Our land methinks ſhould thank the Pope for keeping his *Maſs* and *Pſalter* in ſuch an unknown tongue: For ſo our vulgar if they ſhould be curious to ſee it, yet can they neither be offended by what they hear, nor ſo much as diſcern that our own Engliſh communion-book is drawn out of the popiſh Breviary and Miſſal. To revile and hate a cuſtom whence we do our ſelves

selves receiv so much benefit, and no body any harm, is *fals latin* in morality.

§. 26.

Table.

EVen as to pleas the people and to draw and keep them from the catholick Church, we threw the Bible amongst them, telling them withal that as it is easie to understand, so is every man inabled to interpret it, although our Protestant Church does now too late repent it, and wish with all their hearts it had never been done: so likewise another plausible advantage we took against the Pope and Church, wherein those people communicate commonly but under one kind, by giving all communicants a spoonful of wine together with their mouthful of bread: which stratagem has given as ample content, as if people had been treated at my Lord Majors feast. For who would not drink with their meat? and what reason can be given that they should not? or that a feast with wine should not *cæteris paribus* be better than without it.

But a little to abate our insulting over a grave religious people, let me argue a little for them after my plain manner. Protestant countreymen you cannot but know, at least you ought to know, that the catholick Church uses the

the cup in communion as much as we in *England* do, and in ſacrifice more; for ſo I diſtinguiſh at this time that the ſacrifice is for the prieſt, communion for the people; more I ſay than we ever mean to do: for the deacon or miniſter at the altar, after the prieſt has communicated the people with the hoaſt, carries the cup after him to all the ſaid communicants to drink: before which action of communion, the Prieſt to prefigure Chriſts paſſion upon the altar and his blood effuſed, had both conſecrated and conſummated both the kinds himſelf. Is not this enough to ſilence you? I ſhould think it were; ſince you are taken ſo clearly in a diſſimulation, at leaſt, that I may ſpeak no more, when you ſay that Catholicks have not the cup in communion, concealing what you ought to acknowledg, both that their people have as much as ours, and that the prieſt conſecrates and conſummates both, which others do not. Oh but you will ſay, they give not the people the conſecrated challice which is the very blood of Chriſt! very good, no more do Proteſtants; do we give the people any more then a cup of natural wine? they do ſo too: if you anſwer, it is bleſt wine; know and remember, that when you ſpeak againſt the Prieſts conſecration, Oh then that bleſſing is nothing; but when you would argue againſt the communion in one kind, then you make ſomthing of it: ſo likewiſe your own

bleſſing

bleſſing of the cup when you talk againſt Puritans, ô 'tis a great and venerable ſecret; but when you plead againſt Catholicks, then 'tis but an empty ceremony. Where ſhall any one hold ſuch ſlippery eels. But to omit theſe cavills. May not Anti-Romans be aſhamed to ſay, that Catholicks uſe not the cup which they uſe as much as any, and to as much effect as we will allow it to be uſed, and yet more too? The catholick people in communion (I muſt ſay it again that I may be underſtood) do drink of ſuch a cup as Proteſtants do affirm to be the onely cup and no other; and over and above this, communicate the very body of their Redeemer animated with his ſoul and ſacred bloud, and hypoſtatically united to his deity, which thing Proteſtants neither do nor will allow it, although goſpel do both direct and command it. And yet we will be talking of I know not what defect of catholick communion, not remembring too, as we forget other things, that all the vertue of conſecration is attributed by Proteſtants only to our feeding upon Chriſt by faith; which no man can deny, but that it may be totally done and compleated without touching either bread and drink: and therfor have ſome of them mightily laboured to make good, that when our Lord ſaith in St. *John*, *My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*, that he ſpeaks not one word of ſacramentall eat-

eating or drinking, but only of feeding upon him ſpiritually by the mouth of faith. May not Catholicks ſay the like to any text that ſhall be brought for the peoples communion of the chalice? He is ſurely a mad man, that ſo belabours his adverſary in one argument, that by the ſame he knocks out his own brains in another. So then Proteſtants take from the people both the real body and blood of Chriſt united and effuſed, and then exclaim againſt Catholicks for not uſing the effuſed ſpecies as well in communion, as ſacrifice. We who hold neither as we ought, condemn them for withholding one who hold both, and call that in them a ſacriledge which we our ſelves eſteem but a ceremony. The catholick Church feeds her people with real meat, we feeds ours with ſigns and husks: Though others might upbraid the withholding of one kind, if it were ſo, yet ſurely we cannot ingenuouſly do it, who have taken away the reallity of both. Whatſoever Proteſtants do truly hold and teach concerning this ſacrament, the ſame do catholicks from whom they had it, maintain too: and what more ought to be done, the Catholick Church does it and Proteſtants do it not. Muſt we feed upon Chriſt crucified by faith? Catholicks do it, and it is the very end of their religion. Muſt the Euchariſt be taken in remembrance of him, and commemoration of his death? They do it.

Muſt both kinds be bleſt and taken? they do that too. Muſt the people drink wine out of a cup in communion, Catholik people do the like. On the other ſide, Catholicks do really partake of the animated and living body of their Redeemer: this ought to be done to the end we may have life in us. And yet Proteſtants do it not. Catholicks have it continually ſacrificed before their eyes, and the very death and effuſion of their Lords blood prefigured, and ſet forth before them for faith to feed upon. This Proteſtants have not, they do it not; and yet this ought to be done; for ſo our Lord commanded when he ſaid to his apoſtles, *hoc facite*; this do ye which you have ſeen me to do, and in that manner you ſee me do it, exerciſing before your eyes my prieſtly function according to the order of *Melchizedech*, with which power I do alſo inveſt you, and appoint you to do the like even to the conſummation of the world, in commemoration of my death and paſſion, exhibiting and ſhewing forth your Lords death till he com. This I ſay Proteſtants do not, and we are mad angry that the Papiſt does what his redeemer injoined him. Thus far *ad hominem*.

The conſecrated challice is not indeed ordinarily given by the prieſt to people in private communion. And it is neither expedient it ſhould be ſo, nor neceſſary to any effect of communion: nor yet is ther in goſpel any precept

cept for it. It is not neceſſary unto any effect either in the Proteſtants way which is falſe, or in the Catholick way which is true. In the Proteſtants doctrin all the effect of communion is wholly attributed to the operation of faith, and Chriſts words ſay they are to be taken ſpiritually and not literally, for fleſh and bloud profiteth nothing: And therfore according to them one kind is enough, nay if we have neither kind there is no loſs but only of a ceremony, which may be ſupplied well enough at our ordinary tables. According to catholick doctrin whole Chriſt is really under either kind, and ſo it is indifferent in which kind we receiv. But it is not expedient ordinarily to communicate under the liquid ſpecies for danger of effuſion, as would ſomtimes happen in aſſemblies ſeverally diſpoſed. And yet ther may be reaſon by circumſtance of the perſon, to communicate rather in the liquid kind than the other; as when the communicant is young or ſick, and not able to take down the other: and therfor in antient times ſuch people were ordinarily communicated in the liquid ſpecies only, by the help of a *ſpathula linguæ*, or little pipe made on purpos for that uſe: and for aught I know it may ſo be done ſtill upon the like occaſion. As for any precept of communicating under both kinds I never heard or read of any; none hath the great mother Church delivered, either in her

goſpel or out of it. For all the whole paſſage of the laſt ſupper, whence Anticatholicks do principal ground their reaſonings, concerns only the ſacrifice; how the apoſtles and their ſucceſſours ſhould conſecrate and bleſs it; what they ſhould take to bleſs and conſecrate; and how they ſhould conſummate after conſecration; And ther is not there any word or fact concerning the communicating of people; nor were ther in that time and place any lay people at all to be communicated either man woman or childe, but they were all excluded: and if a man would draw negativ arguments, as ſom do, out of ſcripture, he might conclude out of that place that lay people are to receive in neither kind, ſooner then in both. And although learned Saint *Paul* may inſinuate in his epiſtles, that even the laiety did partake of Chriſts body; yet it may readily be anſwered in the Proteſtants own grounds, if he did plainly ſay ſo, that he ſpake not of a corporall but ſpirituall communion.

Indeed the whole manner of giving communion to the laiety, is wholly left to tradition and to the judgment and diſpoſition of the Church: which appears more probable, for that the catholick Church hath according to her own prudence unto ſome perſons in ſom times and places uſed only the communion of the challice, to others onely the ſacred bread, to others both;

both, no man ever finding fault therewith, or ſtartling at it as any new thing: and if we conſider the ſcrupulouſnes of former ages, we cannot but think they would have riſen up and excepted againſt this, if it had been deemed either new or ill, or if it had not been in the breaſts of all good Chriſtians preconceived and fully known, to be totally arbitrary and in the Churches power to communicate the laiety either in both kinds or only one, and of the two in which ſhe pleaſed, or thought moſt fitting for the condition of the communicant. This was certainly the opinion which Chriſtians ever had concerning communion. But as for conſecration, it ſeems neceſſary to the integrity of the ſacrifice and the fruit thereof to the whole Church, and determined under a precept that it ſhould be made in both kinds: for ſo it was inſtituted, to declare and ſet forth before our eyes the Paſſion of Chriſt and his blood effuſed, of which it could not be a compleat figure of repreſentation except both kinds were conſecrated, and ſo the effuſion expreſt. It was to exhibite whole Chriſt crucified both *quoad continentiam* and *quoad ſignificationem*; which ſignification is not requiſite in communion, where the thing contained is received, and not the ſignification or mode expreſt.

This indifferent uſe of communion amongſt the antient Chriſtians in either kind, ſometime

one, ſomtime the other, ſomtimes both, is enough to verifie that of Saint *Paul*, if it be taken, as it ought to be, in the literall ſenſe; *We are all partakers of one bread and of one cup*; for though either kind were lawful for any one, yet that any one kind was ſufficient, one may eaſily ſee was the opinion of that good apoſtle, by what he ſpeaks in the foregoing comma; *Whoſoever ſhall eat this bread or drink this cup of our Lord unworthily*, &c. and v. 24. and v. 25. repeating the inſtitution as our Lord delivered it, makes him after the conſecration of the bread ſay abſolutely, *Do this in commemoration of me*; but after the conſecration of the chalice he ſpeaks with a limitation, *Do this as oft as ye ſhall drink it in commemoration of me*. So that the particle (*And*) in the other text, muſt needs be taken disjunctively, when he ſaith, *we are all partakers of one bread and of one cup*; that is to ſay, all of us either partake of both, or each one at leaſt either of one, or the other: which manner of ſpeech is very ordinary in all languages, *Mulier eſt domus ſalus & ruina*. A woman, ſaith the proverb, is the ſafety and ruin of a house; yet not conjunctively, or both together, but either the one or the other, according as ſhe is her ſelf either wiſe or fooliſh: and nothing is more uſual in common ſpeech than to uſe this particle *And* disjunctively, when we ſpeak unto many at once, or of many: thus

ten

ten men rising from a feast may say, we have fed heartily to day of flesh, fish, and fowl; though one might haply eat only of one kind, another of another as it chanced, and yet not any one of all.

If a man do seriously peruse either the gospel, or Acts of the apostles, wherin is delineated the primitive religion of Christians, he may easily gather that communion then was thought sufficient under one kind, and that the species of *Bread* was most usual to such as were in health. For first, gospel speaks of as much effect of this one kind, as of both. *This is a bread com down from heaven, that if any eat ther-of he dies not*, John 6. 50. again, *he that eats of this bread shall live for ever*, v. 25. *If any one eateth me the same shall live by me*, v. 58. and he never there compares himself to wine as he does to bread, nor mentions the drinking as he does the eating of him. *We are one bread and one body*, saith St. *Paul*, all *that do partake of one bread*, 1 Cor. 10. 13. And what is ther more to be expected, but union with Christ and his mystical body, immortality and life eternal with him, which all follow upon our worthy communicating of the sacred bread. Secondly, when our Lord brake bread with his disciples in *Emaus* and so disappeared, very great and antient divines do teach, that he did before them the same sacramental act he had himself insti-

tuted, and done aforetime before his apoſtles, and by that he was diſcerned: which interpretation is very probable, for there be ſet down the ſame words and geſtures, He *took bread* and *bleſſed*, and *brake* it and *gave it* to them, *Luke* 24. 30. And if it were ſo, then it ſeems the cup was not thought neceſſary either by Chriſt himſelf or his diſciples, otherwiſe neither Chriſt would have done his work imperfectly, and vaniſhed before he had given them the cup; nor would the diſciples have judged him by ſo doing to be their maſter, but ſom evil ſpirit or impoſtour, as who had kept the cup from them againſt their right: Nay by this example it ſeems that the very conſecration it ſelf may be diſpenced in caſe of neceſſity to be don only in one kinde, though the compleat ſacrifice and mode of ſignification would be unexpreſt. Thirdly in the firſt and ſecond chapters of the *Acts of the apoſtles*, where mention is purpoſely made of the religious aſſemblies of the Chriſtians and their ſacred *Synaxis*, ther is much ſpeech there of their breaking of bread, but not any word of the uſe of a cup amongſt the people. And it is enough inſinuated as well directly in theſe forenamed places, that that was the religious work of the primitive Chriſtians, as it is indirectly afterwards, c. 20. One day of the *ſabboth* ſaith the text, *when we came together to break bread*. No mention being made any where in all

all that book of the challice at all. So that I must conclude, as I said before, that the communion of the challice is neither necessary to any effect of the sacrament, nor expedient to be generally practised; nor is there in gospel or sacred writ any either precept or president for it. But the autority and practis of the catholick Church descended from the apostles, is in this as in all other points the best and most irrefragable convincing argument, which S. *Paul* in another case kept for his best and last refuge, 1 Cor. 11. *If any one* saith he *will be contentious, we have no such custom nor the Church of God.* And if ther be no such custom in the Church of God, let not any of us be any further contentious.

§. 27.

Heroes.

I Do not remember that ever I took into my hands any catholick *Breviary* or *Missal*, or other prayer book, but it had prefixed before it a calender or catalogue of great *Saints* amongst them, apostles, martyrs, confessours, virgins, of whom the Catholicks keep a very respectful memory, as of the temples wherein God did once dwell and work wonders in the Church. And although this act and custom of theirs be made by our voluntary interpretation a thing

of

of much offence and ſcandal againſt them, yet looking upon it with an unprejudiced eye I cannot diſcern it to be any other than the civility of a due reſpect: For what ingenious noble ſpirit would not do as much for the great heroes of his own family that have upheld and innobled the hous. And what ſayes Chriſt? would he not have it done ſo to his? ſurely if theſe things had not been don in his Church, but all memorials of him and his blotted out, according to the fanſy of every reformer, we had had by this no more certainty of him than of *Jove* or *Mercury*. But what ſayes he therefor? *He that loves me ſhall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and make my manſion in him*, &c. *he that leaves father or mother for my ſake ſhall ſit upon thrones*, &c. *he that ſhall overcome and keep my words unto the end, I will give him power over nations, as I have received from my father, and I will give unto him a morning ſtar*, &c. and the like promiſes of glory I ſtand not now to mention. And I ſhould think whom God and Chriſt ſo highly honours that we may honour them too, nay I beleev we ſhould; for a good ſervant ought to reſpect him his maſter loves. And what are we afraid of? leaſt people by much reflecting upon ſuch eminent examples of vertue ſhould be moved therby to imitate them? what can it be els? If ſaints were propoſed and deſcribed unto us, like *Mars Jove* and *Venus*, eminent

eminent both actours and patrons of vice, then we might justly blame it: But who can dislike of an example of heroick vertue, though it were in a Romance. And all those saints even from the first of *January* to the last of *December*, are so commended for their sacred retirements, ravishing contemplations of Gods love and the life to come, carnal mortifications and castigations of body, fastings, abnegations of themselves, excessive charity, daily renewed resolutions against the world flesh and devil, and valorous attempts for the love of Jesus to justifie his truth and gospel even to the effusion of their bloods, that we read nothing els of them; all which is but what Christ and his apostles both by example and word either prescribed or at least counselled both them and us to do. And who can make bitter gibing invectives against them and their legends, but only he who is an enemy to the vertues there commended? what my self and others in England have read and heard against Popish *Saints* it would be tedious to speak; but I find it to be the spirit and genius of them that depart from the Popes religion: *Luther* the *Hector* rampant was excellently dextrous at this feat of disabling persons of renown, and before him his grandsire *Wicleph*, who publickly affirmed that St. *Austin*, St. *Bennet*, St. *Bernard* and other such like men were damned in hell for found-

founding religious orders; yea and even *John Calvin* himself that holy faced man was so intemperately given to this theiomachy, that he opened his mouth not only against all saints and their memorials in the register of the Church, but even the renowned persons both of the old and new testament canonised in holy writ; *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Rebecca*, *Jacob*, *Rachel*, *Job*, *Moyses*, *Josuah*, *David*, *Elias*, *Jeremias*, *Daniel*; The B. Virgin *Mary*, *S. Joseph*, *S. Mary Magdalen*, *Martha*, the *haemorrois Woman* who touched Christs garment, *S. Peter*, *S. Paul*, *S. Matthew*, *S. Luke*, *S. Zacharias* the husband of *Elizabeth*, and *S. Denyse Areopagite*, &c. and his own words against all these I could easily set down, but that I would not tire my reader nor foul my paper with his detracting unseemly speeches. But I should being left to my own reason, shrewdly suspect him to be an enemy to vertue, whom I find to calumniate and disable all those persons who by authentick history are so much commended for it, and by the same proposed unto us as an ensample of our lives. It is not only their due, but our benefit to keep the memory of saints before us.

Besides that man cannot easily forget his own immortality after our deceas, who often ruminates upon such vertuous presidents whom being dead he honours as yet living. Honourable men-

mention of *Saints* deceased proves an immortality of the soul, and this immortality renders the saints even after their deceas still more honourable; so that he that honors them must needs believ this, and he that truly beleeves this will be apt to honour them. *I am God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, God is not the God of the dead but of the living*; so argues and disputes our Lord Christ, proving the souls immortality by the honourable mention of souls departed. And his argument is good and very subtil; for if God be the God even of souls departed, then souls departed are not nothing but som subsisting thing; for God cannot be said to be the God of that which is not. And these two effects, a beleef of our immortality, and a pronenes to imitate their good works so highly crowned, hath this memorial of saints wrought all over the catholick world, where ther is not a man but will urge himself somtime or other for the respect he bears to such a glorious saint, who by shedding his blood or mortifying his body magnified God and his religion upon earth, to do somthing either of pennance or charity superabundant, over and above what he should have thought upon himself without that help in imitation of the good pattern of him, who being once a man compassed with the same infirmities that we now be, hath shewed us notwithstanding both by his life and doctrin that

such

ſuch good works are both feaſible by frail man, and very commendable too, and beneficial even to the reward of never ending glory. And to this end do Catholicks read their ſaints lives, labouring each one to the degree of his devotion to rais up in himſelf the lively ſparkles of hope faith and charity, by thoſe examples which he ſees not confined only to the one age of the apoſtles, but tranſlucent in all times and places by his continued goodnes to his Church whoſe mercy endureth for ever.

Nor are thoſe ſaints lives ſo prodigious and incredible as we in England take them to be, I ſpeak of ſolid authenticated legends. For I have my ſelf ſeen with mine own eyes and known hundreds of living men that have equalled them in thoſe practiſes. And he that knows the vigorous nature and life of Goſpel, where it is really put to practiſe and not only verbally profeſt, will wonder at nothing. *If ye ſay to this mountain, remove hence* ſaith our Lord, *to a right beleever all things are poſſible*: and I am confident by what I have ſeen my ſelf, that ther be now, as bad a world as it is, an immens number of people among Catholicks as eminent in all perfections as ther have been in any age, and ſom of them equal too even to the glorious ſaints of old whoſe legends we read. For thouſands of people do make it their very profeſſion, even as people here in London ſet up

and

and profeſs a trade, to lead their lives exactly according to the tenour of goſpel, noting every evening before they ſleep all the deviations even of their very thoughts, and making reſolutions in the morning for the renewed practis of all ſuch vertuous actions that may probably lye in their way; and in particular, ſuch a vertue to day, that to morrow, this in the third: and ſo they end their lives. All the catholick world knows I do not lye. And all this is don not by any force of nature, but againſt it, by the meer power and vertue of their religion, whereby I have known many men to ſubdue corrupt nature even to amazement and miracle. And the various examples both of good people yet alive and of eminent ſaints departed, whoſe cells, and veſtments, and beads, and books are yet reſerved amongſt them, incourage Catholicks unto this vertuous adventure, while not only by ſight of their lives who live amongſt them, and of the mortified figures of the holy perſons deceaſed, and bloody necks of their martyrs, but alſo by ſermons and the continual rites of the Church prefiguring before them the converſation and paſſion both of Jeſus himſelf and his many glorious followers who have imitated his ſteps, that none might think but that the ſame life might be led though not in the ſame degree, and the ſame valour be ſhown in undergoing both carnal caſtigations and

death

death even by meer man, through the grace of him who ſtrengthens us to all things, they are made continually to remember and ſeriouſly lay to heart both what they are to do and whom to imitate; by which reflections they are more moved towards all the good works of piety, than without them ſuch a poor weak ſpirit as man is, houſed in mouldring clay, could ever be.

And that this hath been the practis of the Chriſtian Church in all times to ſet before the people the lively pourtraicts of their holy and well deſerving foregoers, for their greater incitation unto ſemblable good works unto which their religion calls them, I could eaſily ſhow throughout all ages; but that I intend here to ſpeak no more then what may ſomwhat allay the preconceived prejudice we have taken up againſt the Popes religion, eſpecially in the few particulars I touch upon; of which I ſpeak no more than what I think may ſuffice to unbeguile ſuch as liſt ſeriouſly to ruminate upon the truth. And if in theſe things which ſeem harder to us their caus be juſt, I ſhould think the leſſer prejudices ſhould fall away of themſelvs, and we at length love one another as we ought; for no man I think does willingly hate the innocent. Only two teſtimonies of the primitive reſpect unto ſaints and their images amongſt Chriſtians taken not out of the bowels

els of the Church, but from her enemies, one from the Jew, the other from the Pagan, sufficiently known in history; I cannot but here mention. The Jews in the first three ages of the Church even from the apostles to *Constantine* the great, accused the Christians not only in private but even before the Roman emperours and Senate, of three great violations of Moses law; first that they *broke the sabboth* and had turned it from the seventh day of the week unto the first, making that holiday which *Moses* ordained for work, and that a working day which *Moses* made holy: secondly that they *worshipped images* of *their saints* and kept them not only in their houses but in their oratories & chappels: thirdly that they brought in a *strang God*, *Jesus Christ* they meant, which neither they nor their forefathers knew: all which seemed expressly against the letter, not only of the general law but of the two tables of the ten Commandements. The pagan all over the empire laughed at the Christians for three ridiculous worships of theirs; namely of a *breaden God*, of the *priests knees*, and of an *asses head*: the first whereof proves the primitive sacrifice, of which I have already spoken; the second their confession; the third their use and respect they had of images: for the Jews had defamed Jesus Christ our Lord, whose head and half pourtraict Christians used upon their al-

tars even as they do at this day, amongst other things of his great simplicity and ignorance.

Some will haply say, if this were all that is done to saints, to keep the picture and read the lives of such renowned personages who consecrated themselvs to Gods glory and service, for the incitement of our affections unto the like vertuous atchievements, I should not much blame it: But papists over and above this do pray to *saints* too, and that is no wayes excusable. Give me leav to reply to this. That which you now say you cannot much blame, has been made so odious, that never a Catholick in England durst for this hundred years so much as let a *Crucifix* hang in his chamber, left both he and it should be torn asunder by us. And what you judg inexcusable, their praying to saints, which I have so often heard and read in our protestant Churches and books objected so eagerly and constantly against them, when I found it otherwayes than we in England conceiv it to be; I was glad both for their sakes and ours too.

I did therfor curiously examin and turn over the whole Roman *Breviary* and *Missal* which is the devotion of the Catholick Church, and contains, almost a fourth part of it, a commemoration of several *Saints*, according to the daies of the year wherin they flitted hence into a better life. And I did not meet with so much as any one prayer addressed to any saint or angel

gel of heaven, no not upon thoſe dayes wherin commemoration of them is made; but directed all of them from the very firſt prayer to the laſt unto God the father by Jeſus Chriſt in the unity of the holy ghoſt either expreſt or implied. And their practis herin is conform to antient tradition confirmed by their own law in a councel at *Carthage* under Pope *Siricius* an. 397. wherin it was declared and ordained that all publick prayers of the Church ſhould be made directly unto God the Father. And Catholicks even upon a ſaints day, making their prayer to God, beg only of him amongſt other their requeſts, that the good works of ſuch a ſaint in whom he glorified himſelf, may ſpeak better things for them than they can themſelys deſerv. For example upon St. *Bennets* day, *Interceſſio nos quæſumus Domine Benedicti Abbatis commendet, ut quod noſtris meritis non valemus ejus patrocinio aſſequamur.* Upon the feaſt of St. *Francis*, *O God who by the merits of St. Francis doeſt inlarge thy Church with a new offſpring, grant unto us by the imitation of him to deſpiſe earthly things and enjoy celeſtial.* And ſo run all the other prayers of the Church wherin any invocation of ſaints is made, directed ever unto almighty God by his ſon Jeſus Chriſt.

And this is no more than what was ever don in the Hebrew Church, both befor & after Chriſtianity was in the world, as the works of antient

Rabbies can witnes, and no leſs holy writ it ſelf, when it makes almighty God ſooner as it were condeſcending to the peoples petition, by the mediation of the merits of glorious patriarchs whom he ſingularly favoured, and his wrath and diſpleaſur againſt the Jews then at a height, when he refuſes to hear thoſe ſaints in their behalf. *If Moyſes and Samuel*, ſaith the ſacred text, Jer 15. *ſhould ſtand before me, yet is not my ſoul unto this people*: that is to ſay, he would not in the behalf of ſuch deſperate wicked people, accept of the prayers even of thoſe ſaints that were moſt dear unto him: and this was ſpoken by the prophet long after *Moſes* and *Samuel* was dead. Long before this the Patriarch *Jacob* does moſt plainly inſinuate this cuſtom of ſaints invocation, as ordinary and familiar among the Hebrews, when being to bleſs his two nephews *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, he ſpeaks thus. *The angel who brought me out of all my evils bleſs theſe children, and upon them be invocated my name and the name of my fathers, Abraham and Iſaac*, Gen. 48. And ther is a formal prayer to that purpoſe *Exod*, 32. which expreſſes as much invocation of ſaints as any, or all the prayers of the Chriſtian Church do ever uſe. *Remember* ſaith Moſes, *remember O God, Abraham, Iſaac and Iſrael thy ſervants, unto whom thou haſt ſworn by thy ſelf ſaying I will multiply your ſeed as the ſtars of heaven:*

Which

Which prayer was after imitated by *Daniel*, ch. 3. *Withdraw not O Lord thy mercy from us for Abraham thy beloved, Isaac thy servant, and Israel thy holy one.* And if *Daniel* and *Moses* praied to saints, well may we do it: and if that of theirs was not a praying to saints, but only to almighty God by the concurrence of their merits, then is the Catholick Church to be not excused only, but commended; for she does the like in those prayers of hers she makes any mention either of saint or angel, and no otherwise.

And this may serv to expound their meaning, when Catholicks in their Letanies, versicles, and other short ejaculations invocate Saints and Angels directly in words, thus; *Holy Virgin Mary* pray for us: *Blessed S. Michael* pray for us, &c. which in sense is no other but thus; Lord let the prayers of such a one, and of all thy saints and angels avail with thee to my assistance: which very sens the Church expresses in all her prayers throughout the year, and in particular when she speaks thus; *Sancta Maria & omnes Sancti intercedant pro nobis ad Dominum, ut nos mereamur ab eo adjuvari & salvari qui vivit & regnat, &c.* And if we ponder it right, it must needs be so: for when I pray any one to pray for me, considering the object and matter of my desire which both of us must join in, I do not, properly speaking, pray to

him but by him; and only desire in my good affection, that the prayers he makes for all may be available unto me. And this is the more apparent, becaus the Letanies are directed unto God, beginning, continuing, and ending with him. *Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy, Father of heaven God, Have mercy on us, O Son redeemer of the world God, Have mercy on us, &c. Holy Mary pray for us, St. Michael pray for us, &c. Be propitious, spare us O Lord. From all evil, Deliver us, O Lord. &c. By the mystery of thy incarnation, Deliver us O Lord. By thy nativity, Deliver us O Lord, &c. We sinners, Beseech thee to hear us. That thou grant us peace, We beseech thee to hear us, &c. Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world. spare us O Lord, &c. Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy. Our Father, &c.* Thus the letanies run, and he that directs, continues and ends his letany or prayer to God, must needs pray to him, and objectively to none but him. So that the interposition of any intercessour must needs be indirect in sense, however it be expresst in words, and can signifie no more but this, that God would gratiously accept of the prayers they make in our behalf. For that they do pray for their brethren and adoptives of the same bliss both reason and holy writ sufficiently assure us.

Nor is this way of expreſſing our deſires unuſual in holy Scripture. *Bleſs ye our Lord all the works of our Lord, bleſs ye our Lord O angels of God. O ſun and moon, bleſs ye our Lord, O ſtars of heaven bleſs ye our Lord, praiſe ye and magnifie him for ever, &c.* Thus pray the three confeſſours in Daniel. And the whole 148. *Pſalm* runs in the ſame tenour. *Prais our Lord all ye angels of his, prais him all his powers, prais ye him O ſun and moon, prais him all the ſtars of light, &c.* Here is an invocation direct in words not only of the ſaints and angels, but ſtars and meteors, earth and ſeas, froſt and ſnow, heat and cold, light and darknes. And yet I am not bound who uſe that devotion to make it good that the ſun and moon, or other things there invocated hear me when I ſpeak to them in that manner: ſith I do but only expreſs my affection and deſire that ſun and moon, heaven and earth, froſt and ſnow, heat and cold, mountains and hills be in their manner inſtrumentall to the almighties prais and honour, whether in words I ſpeak directly to the ſun and moon, as I do in that Pſalm, or expreſs my ſelf otherwiſe. ſaying; *May the ſun, moon, heaven and earth concurre with me to the honour and prais of God almighty:* the affection and meaning is ſtill the ſame. Nay the kings and princes of the earth, whom in that ſame Pſalm I invocate to my aſſiſtance do no more hear me when I ſay that

Psalm in my chamber, than do the mountains and hills. In like manner it is all one for me to say either thus: *May the prayers of the Saints and Angels of God assist my condition with the almighty holy one*; or thus, *Pray for me O saints and angels of God to assist my poor condition with God almighty and holy*, The devotion is as good this way as the other, and all one and the same thing. And the antient Christians used indifferently either the one way or the other, according as they deemed either this or that more agreeable and pathetical to the exciting of their devotion and obtaining their desires with God. Nor did those wise and devout people ever enter into the curiosity; whether the spirits of another world did either see or hear or know, what we speak or think or do in this: much less did it ever enter into their *Creed* that they do so.

After a thousand years arose our Schoolmen who amongst other of their subtilties raised the difficulty, *Whether Saints in another life hear and see all our motions in this*: and generally they defended, and neatly declared both that they did it, and also how it might be done; namely by the mirrour of divine essence seen and enjoyed by the blessed. But this is a meer nice theological subtilty and no busines of faith at all, neither for the mode how it is done, nor yet for the doctrin that it is don. And if those

school-

schoolmen thought this their doctrin necessary for any practis of saints-invocation in the Church, they showed themselvs not so good rhetoricians as they were logicians. Some may think they did, but I am perswaded they did not. Cannot I sing with Moses; *Audite cæli quæ loquor*; *audiat terra verba oris mei*; except philosophy can make it good, that the earth and heavens can properly hear my voice.

He that will defend pure naked faith is not bound to enter upon any philosophical dispute with the adversary, or go any further than his faith reaches; for so he does but intangle religion and expose it to needles doubts. But this is a great mistake of many men otherwise of very great parts, that they think what they have heard in the schools of S. *Thomas* or *Scotus* is all of it *de fide*; not considering that the schoolmen raised a thousand questions and invented several declarations like ramparts about the *cittadel of faith* to inable men to speak against all opposition several wayes; either in the way of St. *Thomas* or *Scotus*. *Gandavensis*, *Durandus*, *Aureolus* or other doctour, not to oblige them to defend those waies as the *cittadel* it self, when it shall com by any adversary to be opposed. And although with som Antichristian great wits, as *Plotin*, *Porphyrius*, *Julian*, such subtilties may be spoke of, yet still with this caution it must be done, that they first under-

understand that Christians are not bound when they defend the simplicity of their faith, to make good those subtilities besides it. But with a grosser textual opponent as our protestant is, such curiosities are not at all to be touched. For he concludes presently that invocation of saints is not to be used, if any one go about to tell him that they hear our prayers, and make it not sink into his head how they can do it. And thus catholick faith is prejudiced for want of wise comportment in the defendant.

There is another little defect in some late catholick writers, that in their controversies with Protestants, wherein they hold that it is lawful to pray unto saints, they consider not that they mean it one way and their adversary another. This should first have been cleared, before they had proceeded to perswade what could never enter into our Protestant heads in the sens they understand it. For properly and strictly speaking, to pray saints or by them is one thing, to pray to them is another: that intimates the means, this the final end and object of our prayer; and the Catholick uses it in the first sens, the Protestant understands it in the latter, as I know by my experience and conversation with them in all places. St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans as elsewhere very frequently calls the Christians *Sanctos* saints, and in the end of that epistle earnestly importunes

them

them to help him in their prayers for him unto God. And yet will Protestants never be perswaded for all that, that S. *Paul* prayed to saints: and indeed in their sens he did not; but that he did pray to saints in the catholick sens, that is prayed saints or prayed by saints no rational man can deny. And such and no other is the devotion of catholicks in this kind, save only that their practis is more plausible than that of S. *Paul* now mentioned. If the prayers of such as be *in viâ* and sinners in som part of their conversation, though saints in profession, be so useful and may commendably be desired; much more those of consummate saints *in patriâ*, absolute friends of God and partakers of his glory: these the sacred text assures us that they pray for their brethren, but men in this life although they be requested may neglect to do it, their prayer is surely effectual one way or other to our good, when men of this life may obtain for us haply nothing at all. Nor is it of any purpos whether they hear us or no, sith we do but pray them to do for us what we are assured they do for all; and so apply the benefit of their prayers to our selvs; or pray by them not to them, or to them in the catholick but not in the protestants sens.

I must here by reason of the great ignorance of old catholick customs that is amongst us, give notice, that the great Mother Church does

does carefully distinguish betwixt her *Oratio* or set prayer, and her *Preces*, anthems, hymnes, versicles, and such like pious ejaculations. For her set prayer is ever made according to the cannons directly unto God almighty: but the other taken for the most part out of scripture phrase, she uses them without more adoe, as there she finds them expresst, in what trope or figure soever they be delivered. Take one example for all. In her versicle for Advent she sings thus: V. *Rorate cæli desuper, & nubes pluant justum.* R. *Aperiatur terra & germinet Salvatorem:* that is, "Dew ye O heavens, and "the clouds rain down the just one: Let the "earth open and bud our Saviour. Where in the first comma the words are made directly to the heavens; not so to the earth in the second: but the sens and meaning is the very same. And it had been all one, if it had been expressed thus; *Let the heavens dew, the clouds rain, and earth bud forth a Saviour:* for the heavens and clouds do no more hear me, when I speak to them than the earth could do. But then the life of the eloquence had been much weakened, and the words of holy writ unnecessarily changed. *Dew O ye heavens*; and *Let the heavens dew*, is but one and the same thing with a little alteration of rhetorick. *Let the heavens dew*, is a direct expression of our requests to God; *Dew O heavens*, an indirect, being

being an emphatical *Prosopopeia* unto that effect or caus, which I beg of God even in those very words that it may at length appear: And such is likewise the vehement and earnest ejaculations of catholick Christians, *Protect me O Angels of God*; and, *The Angels of God protect me.* And thus the Church speaks indifferently in her anthems, hymnes, graduals, responsories, drawn according to the several schemes of pious oratory, by way of collaudation, deprecation, admiration, gratulation, *&c.* And these are frequently both mingled with the devotions, and commended by the writings of old contemplatives and holy fathers. Insomuch that S. *Bernard*, one of the last of them, although he lived five hundred years ago, counts it no shame, amongst his other learned and pious works, to write a comment upon *Salve Regina*, which is one of the Churches anthems to the blessed Virgin *Mary*. And how highly other Christian doctours above a thousand years ago have extolled this kind of piety both by their prais and practis, it would be here too tedious to relate.

If any one like not this my way of explicating this holy custom of the Church, he may use what other he pleases. But this I do use as most facile and connatural to pious oratory, which easily diverts unbeleevers objections, and best answers to the state not only of Christian saints

ſaints but alſo thoſe of the old law, who could not ſee the neceſſities of men upon earth by any mirrour of divine eſſence which then they enjoyed not, and yet they were prayed unto then, as well as the Chriſtian Saints be now. And to me it ſeems irrational to defend an eaſy cuſtom of religion by a hard ſubtility of philoſophy, which clears not but renders that obſcure and doubtful which was clear and utterly undoubted of before. All antient Chriſtians ever beleeved ſaints invocation to be lawful and pious, but it entred not into the *Creed* of any, that thoſe of another world either hear or ſee what we do in this: and this opinion brought to clear the other practis is harder to beleev than it, and no point of faith neither, although by the ſubtility of Chriſtian Philoſophers it be rendered probable enough to ſuch as allowed of the Chriſtian cuſtom aforehand.

And if the cuſtom will naturally clear it ſelf, according to the ſpirit of thoſe who penned our holy ſcripture, without the help of a philoſophy which our Proteſtant countrimen either will not allow, or cannot underſtand, I ſee no reaſon why any ſuch philoſophy ſhould be here made uſe of, to the prejudice of that faith it is brought only to declare. And yet moſt of the writers of this laſt age, when they com to this point of Saints-invocation, are in a manner wholly converſant in that piece of phi-

losophy, the whole busines of faith neglected. First they show for example, *how the old Prophets* discovered the secret actions of men even at a great distance: Then, *how great the activity*, even of our corporal eye is, to see a star in the firmament so many millions of miles off, yea by the help of a Tube or Telescope to discern even a world in the moon; and a spirit free from matter must yet be far more perceptive: Lastly, *that God is* an indivisible entity, and consequently by the Saints and Angels, who see his face in glory, must needs be both himself discerned, and also the whole world relucent in that glorious mirrour, &c. This is generally all the discours is made of Saints-invocation; as if their *hearing* and *seeing* were all the whole busines of faith to be declared; wheras indeed it is nothing less. Saints-invocation, and Saints hearing and seeing what I do in my chamber, are as much differing as any two things can be: the first is old Christian religion, the other a new school-philosophy. And although a man may commendably defend even this opinion before subtile philosophers in the schools, as a probable truth which he may think it to be: Yet can he not in any prudence maintain it before unbeleevers, as a parcel of Christian faith, which he either knows or ought at least to know that it is not. But of this enough.

This

This pious rite of saints-invocation common to the Hebrew and Christian Church is necessarily justified upon the supposal of three principles which all I think will grant. First that Gods grace whereby men are made partakers of the divine nature is in a singular manner in some persons more than others; secondly, that the souls of those holy people and merits of their good works are immortal with God even after their death: thirdly, that God cannot dislike the reflections of his divine nature diffused in them out of the fulnes of his beloved son, when any one makes use of them the easier to find mercy in his sight. And all Protestant objections, as *Come unto me* saith Christ, &c. are but childish: for who does a man come unto or go unto but Christ and God alone, when he sues to none but him for grace and mercy, whether he use or use not the helps of other intercessour with himself to facilitate his request.

As innocent therfor is popery in this as in any other her religious practises, and we destitute of argument to carp at them for it. Let us therfor love and not hate, rather honour than diminish them without caus.

§. 28.

Dirge.

ALl over the catholick world prayers are constantly made for the dead both in publick

publick and private: Insomuch that one day in a week the altar is let apart for that purpos, and it is a rare thing when one half hour in every day is not spent there by some prieſt or other, together with the people for that end: nor is there a private perſon in the world that makes any orifons apart, but will send forth som short ejaculations for the *requiem* of souls departed before he give over. So that I may truly say, it is as ordinary for Catholicks to pray for the dead as for the living, and for one another as for themselvs. And this custom carries with it so great a show of piety, that for my part I could never dislike it; and I have heard but few discreet persons speak otherwise against it, than only as an ungrounded opinion. For of it self what can it be but pureſt humanity to remember our friends when they are out of sight; and to pray for them even after their deceas a moſt charitable piety. The queſtion is, whether the doctrin be well grounded, or whether it may make for good accordingly to use it. If the deceaſed be utterly diſſolved, and soul and body equally extinguiſhed, then it is likely my prayer cannot avail for their benefit, nor will it becom either my charity or diſcretion to pray for them that are not: for God is not the God *of the dead but of the living* as our Lord ſpeaks; nor is he to be requeſted for benefits to any thing that is not exiſtent, and abſo-

lutely incapable to receiv them. But if their ſouls be ſtil immortal with God, where or in what condition ſoever they be, it cannot hurt I ſhould think either me or them to wiſh them welt for whereſoever they are, if ſo be they are any thing, they are preſent to God, who fills all things, if not more yet aſſuredly as much as we that live this mortal life, and as they themſelvs were, when they lived amongſt us; and God whom we pray unto is equally preſent both to them and us, who aſſuredly hears and ſees and knows us both. And ſince the Almighty has ſet a limit to our knowledg, none to our charity towards any man, no reaſon can be given why I may not wiſh well unto them all my life time even after their deceas, whom I might pray for while they lived, even by the command of him who bad me do well unto all, and have love which is ever accompanied with well wiſhes and prayers, even to my very enemies; never preſcribing me either limit of time or meaſure of charity.

Thoſe I pray for after their deceas muſt needs be, if they be yet ſubſiſting, either in hell or heaven or ſom third place; I ſpeak vulgarly that I may be underſtood, not heeding at all whether a ſoul in *Ariſtotles* philoſophy may be ſaid in rigour to be in any place or no, in right reaſon whatſoever is, muſt needs be ſomwhere, and that is all my meaning. If the ſoul I pray

for

for should chance even then to be in heaven; then my prayer for him is answerable to Gods will, and so not evil but good; while I beg rest to him to whom God hath given it: for prayer though it often suppoſes, yet it doth not necessarily require a want of the good thing prayed for in him I wish it unto; otherwayes I could not say as well and truly *Our father who art in heaven, let thy name be sanctified, thy kingdom come, thy will be don*; as I say afterwards, *Give us to day our daily bread*, and *forgive us our debts, as even we also do forgive our debtors*, &c. In the former there is no want to be imagined; for they both are and shall be, whether I pray so or no; and I do but only show my love and charity to God, in wishing him to be as he is, most holy, powerful and just, and desiring that to him which he neither does nor ever can want, all sanctity, power and glory: but in the other requests a want is presuppoſed before the petition. If he should be in hell, sith it is not Gods will I should know so much, I can no more be interpreted to gainsay his pleasur, than when I prayed for the same person upon earth, and wished him what he should never have: for even then also I knew no more of Gods disfavour towards him than now I do, and my good wishes in both places presented ever under a tacite condition of Gods good pleasur, may be equally acceptable in order to any effect either to him or my self for

my charity towards him, as they would have been whiles he lived; for I shall still have the merit of my own charity in complying with Gods precept of an unlimited love towards all men, and he may receiv too as much good by my prayers now he is com to such an end, as when he was going to it: especially if he were according to the doctrin of som Protestants so destined to ruin by Gods unresistable will, and by the torrent of that unavoidable decree so inevitably hurried to damnation, that all things even the best and most sacred means make only for his destruction. Indeed if any ones final ruin should be revealed unto me, as now is I think the condition of evil angels, then in praying for any such I should formally resist Gods will; and therefor I must not do it: but so long as it lies hid, let not me dive into his secrets, but look unto my own duty, which shall never turn to my blame, tho it may hap not to concur with the beneplacite of his hidden purpos. And in both cases, either of the final bliss or ruin of him I pray for, such kind of suffrages though they may prove not to be *adjumenta mortuorum*, yet are they still *consolationes vivorum*, as great S. *Austin* speaks in the like case.

But lastly if he be in any third place in expectation of glory, then without controul I may wish him what he is ordered unto, and do any good thing I shall know, by such means as I know

know all other points and practices of religion, may further his expiation. And such an opinion have all Catholicks or ancient Christians ever had of their forefathers, who died in the bosom of the Church, that they were as capable of prayers after their death as before it, and that heaven was not so easily attained even by good and holy professours, without some antecedent expiation of their venial transgressions, without which men do rarely depart out of the concretion of these earthly tabernacles inclining still to sensual propensions, let their souls endeavour never so much by the help of Gods grace and sacraments to expiate and clear their thoughts, or to raise themselves to the object of eternal purity, whiles they breathed here below. Thus the case stands concerning this point.

And that every soul that passes out of the concretion of a mortal body with any sensual contagion, after mortal sins remitted, passes through some expiatory pains, commonly called Purgatory, declared by the antients sometimes by the notion of darknes, sometimes of scorching fires, before he can enter the place of glory where no inquinated thing can come, as it is an opinion can never be demonstratively either proved or disproved, no more than other contingencies of Gods will, so becaus it is a thing as constantly beleeved in all ages of

Christianity, and as unanimously practised as any one thing I know. I do not see any reason it should be so slightly thought of, or severely condemned as I see it is by some, as an ungrounded popish superstition. For it is not only the opinion of all orthodox Christians, but of all people in the world, excepting only the disciples of Luther, who jeer at all things, that there be other places where souls departing this life may have their resort besides hell and heaven; as if it were derived even with the souls immortality from the first inhabitants of the earth unto all their posterity. The Pagans believed it, as appears by *Virgil*, *Cicero*, *Lucretius*, and the few remnants of their religion both under the Roman empire and elsewhere. The Mahometans that rose a thousand years ago, and took to a miscellan religion made out of Pagan Jew and Christian belief, hold it to this day; and the Hebrews taught and profest it as appears by the ancient Rabbies: as if this opinion of a third place had come down even from *Adam* to all his whole progeny; first to Cain and Seth, by *Cain* to Enoch and his race, by *Seth* to Enos, and so down to *Noah*; from him to Sem Ham and Japhet; by *Sem* to the Assyrians, Arabites, Persians; by *Ham* to the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Palestines, Cananites, Sidonians, Jebusites, &c. by *Japhet* to the Hebrews, Medes, Bactrians, Indians, Babylonians;

and

and isles of the Gentiles; although it be severally mixed and modified according to the tenour of the various religions that profess it.

This opinion then of the souls immortality and its detention after death in som place *citra cœlum* is not any new thing, freshly taught either by our blessed Saviour or his Apostles, as any peculiar doctrin of his own, but taken up as granted by tradition of the Church of the Hebrews, and supposed and admitted by all sides for true, upon which our Lord built much of his own instructions. And that may be the reason, that in his parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, which he recounted under the figur of a story then past, he sayes expresly that *Dives* was in hell torments, but he does not likewise say of *Lazarus* that he was in heaven, but in the bosom of *Abraham*, Luke 16. For heaven gates as they were indeed not opened unto any until the passion of the *Messias*, who first entred there as *primogenitus ex mortuis*; so neither did the Jews believ that any should have access thither before his coming, as I think it may appear, to omit other places, in the Acts of the Apostles. For there St. *Peter* preaching and proving before the Jews that *Jesus* was risen and ascended into heaven, and was consequently the true *Messias*, he takes his argument to prove it out of a psalm of *David* which speaks thus, *I foresaw the Lord alwayes before my face*, &c.

therefore did my heart rejoyce, &c. *because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*, &c. *thou hast made known to me the wayes of life*, &c. This is his first subsumption. Then he goes on in his argument. David was *a Prophet*, and *foreseeing* the *resurrection* of Christ he spake those things *of him*; therfor Christ is risen and our *Jesus* is the Christ. This is St. *Peter's* argument. Then he anticipates an objection: for some might say, David spake not those words of the *Messias*, but of himself: unto this St. *Peter* replies with three reasons; first *David was a Prophet*, and therefor he spake them not of himself, but of another whose resurrection he foresaw; secondly, he saith, *The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand*, &c. it was then the resurrection and ascension of one that was Davids Lord, therefore not of himself; again it could not be meant of David, *for David ascended not into heaven*, which is an argument *ad hominem, ex concessis*: as if he had said, you all know and believe that neither *David* nor any of the Patriarks ascended after their death to their final rest, but staid in some interjacent repose till the *Messias* should com and lead *captivity captive*; that is to say take along with him in his train and service all those holy prophets and patriarks of the old law, who had in their place of detention waited for the consolation of Israel. I say St. *Peter* must suppose that proposition,

position, on which the firmitude of his whole discours was chiefly grounded, to be admitted by the Jews for true; otherwise his argument had been inefficacious, and had neither proved Christs ascension nor yet Jesus to be Christ. And if any should expound the place of a *corporal* ascension which belonged to the *Messias* and not to *David*; although that meaning be also true, yet does not the exposition fully correspond with the letter of the text, which speaks expresly of his *Soul*. All this infers that the Hebrew Church did beleev a detention of spirits *citra coelum*, and that the *Rich* man might go to hell before Christ, but *Lazarus* the happy went but into *Abrahams* bosom, that is to say, unto that repose where *Abraham David* and all the antient patriarks expected the light and redemption of Israel, and not into heaven it self.

And they might very well so beleev; for how can any one hope for that upon anothers gift which he never promised, when he promised all other things but it, Heavenly bliss amongst all the fair promises made in the law of Moses was never so much as mentioned, nor those people ever put in hope of it for any good work they should do. But in the new testament of our *Messias*, heaven which himself should open to his faithful, is frequently promised as an immens motiv & incitement to good works, which they

should

should for his love by the assistance of his grace act and persever in unto the end. Yet so too, as that in the execution of this promis it is sufficiently insinuated, that if any spirit issue out of his body not absolutely purified, himself may indeed by the use of such means of grace as our Lord instituted, be saved; yet so as by fire, 1 Cor. 3. And therfore our blessed Saviour speaking of the several trasgresses we make in this life, gives us this counsel, to set all right and straight as far as we can, while we are here *in via*, in the way of this life, for if once by death we be delivered up to the place of hold, detention, or prison, there will be no getting forth thence till the utmost farthing be paid, Mat. 5. that is, as holy fathers do joyntly interpret the place, till absolute satisfaction be made either by suffrance or suffrages. And that redemption or remission of some sins may be had after this life is enough insinuated unto us by himself when he tells us, that there be some sins that shall never be forgiven neither in this world, nor in the world to come. For if any should tell me here in England that some criminal offences will neither be pardoned at the *Sessions*, nor at the *Kings bench* at Westminster, he sufficiently insinuates, if he speak properly, that reles may be had for some other offences in both the places.

St. *Paul* in his epistles, although he do sometimes

times indirectly hint at this doctrin of expiration after this life, yet does he not directly make use of it as a topick place, either in his exhortation to vertue, or dissuasion from vice. But the reason is manifest, for being a thing mixt of good and ill, it could serv sufficiently to neither purpos. And heaven being now lately promised to all those that walk piously in Christ Jesus, was a more full and stronger motive of perswasion, as also was hell a greater argument of affrightment, then the interjacent place of expiation however penall could be, which by reason of the temporality of the sufferance and hopes of approaching glory admits some comfort to mitigate the terrour; and again by reason of the penalty of that condition and trouble of expectation, carries enough of terrour to allay the comfort of the place. And yet incidentally and without design, ther is there to be found as much of purgatory as of the liturgy, the trinity, primitive absolution, and other mysteries of faith. In a word, the thought of heaven served well both to incourage people to the utmost perfection of charity and good works, and to comfort them also in tribulation, which the memory of their expiation before it could not do. And on the other side if any were wicked, for such a one purgatory would neither be a seasonable nor sufficient menace.

Yet

Yet both all their life time and especially when they came to dye, all records of primitive times will tell us, how careful the antient Christians were to provide for their souls assistance after death. And accordingly St. *Austin* commends the piety of his mother *Monica*, in that she begged so earnestly of him her son, to be mindful of her soul when he stood at the altar, to pray heartily for her after her decease: and he sets down at large in the ninth book of his *Confessions* c. 12. and 13. the dirge and sacrifice and prayers he made both for her and her husband *Patricius*. And the doctrin of expiatory punishments after this life he teaches in several places of his many learned volumes: In his 20 book *de civitate Dei* c. 9. 13. 16. and 24. In his *comment* upon the 37. *psalm*: In his book of *fifty homilies* hom. 16. In his 41. sermon *de sanctis*. In the 110. chapter of his *Enchiridion*: In his book *de cura pro mortuis*, c. 2. and 4. By which and other places we may see, that S. *Austin* was not only of this catholik opinion, but he was also a priest himself, who both taught and practised it, sacrificing at the altar for souls departed. And so was S.S. *Bede*, *German*, *Constantinopolitanus*, *Jo. Damascen* and *Alcuin* in the eight age of the Church, not to mention later times: S. S. *Isidore*, *Eligius*, and the fathers of the eleventh councel of *Tolledo* in the seventh age. S.S. *John Climacus*, *Grego-*

Gregory the great, and the Fathers of the councel of *Valentia* in the sixth: S. S. *Jo. Chrysostome* with the abovenamed S. *Austin*, *Paulinus*, *Eucherius Lugdunensis*, *Victor Uticensis*, *Socrates*, and *Theodoret* in the fifth: S. S. *Eusebius Cesarienſis*, *Athanasius*, *Basilius Magnus*, *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus*, *Gregorius Nazianzen*, and *Nyssen*, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrosius*, and *Hieronimus* in the fourth. S. S. *Eusebius Alexandrinus*, *Zeno Veronensis*, and *Origen* in the third, S. *Ireneus*, *Hermes*, and *Tertullian* in the second; who were all of them priests, catholick Roman priests, and publickly taught, as I am able to make it apparent out of their works, this venerable religious doctrin of the souls expiation after death, before it arrive to heavenly bliss, by the prayers and pennances and alms deeds of the faithful left behinde them in this world; and did it, and practised it themselvs in their houses, altars, and oratories, according as they had received it from the first age, which they found in an universal beleef and practis of the same truth, as even yet appears by the antient liturgies and testimonies of S. *Matthew*, S. *Mark*, S. *James* the elder and the younger, S. *Clement*, and S. *Denyse* the Areopagite; wherein most earnest prayer is ever made for such persons as were deceased in the communion of the Church, (which they phrased in those dayes *obdormire in Domino*) either in or before their times.

But

But the practis of S. *Paul* in order to this sort of piety is singularly remarkable. He in his second letter to his ghostly child S. *Timothy*, which he wrote to him from *Rome*, as he makes honourable mention of the charity of good *Onesiphorus* towards himself, both in that city, and also at *Ephesus*, whence he had com with much labour and long journeyes, to reliev his old poor guest S. *Paul*, there kept in prison by emperour *Nero*, and had died in that his charitable work; so also doth he manifestly pray for his soul in that his letter: *Det illi Dominus*, saith he, *invenire misericordiam à Domino in illâ die*; which is in plain english, *God have mercy of his soul.* Both there and in the end of his letter, he salutes the hous and family of *Onesiphorus*, but not himself becaus he was departed this life; whom otherwis he had as well mentioned in person, as he did *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, whom with the hous of *Onesiphorus* he there salutes: but yet having honourably mentioned his good deeds towards himself, he praies for his soul which was the utmost he was now able to do for his person, and begs Gods blessing upon his hous and family he had left behind. "Our Lord show compassion, saith he, "upon the hous of *Onesiphorus*, for he often "refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my "chain: but when he were come to Rome, he "sought and found me out. LORD grant him

"to

"to find mercy from our Lord in that day. "And how he administred to me in Ephesus, "you know your self better than I can tell you. Whence we may learn, that old Primitive Christianity used first to speak well of the dead, and recount their charitable deeds for ensample of the living, and then secondly to pray for their souls; even as Roman Catholicks do at this day. And I am confident, if any one here in England should say as much for any deceased friend or benefactour, as good S. *Paul* there does for his, he would be looked upon as a superstitious Papist: and I am no less certain, that either S. *Paul* was of the Papists religion, or the Papist at least of his.

Thus *Popery* did in old times and so it doth still. And I hope none of us hereafter will have the heart to hate and persecute that religion, whose charity and goodnes is so great that it extends beyond the very horison and utmost limits of this world.

§. 29.

Pope.

THe catholiks, as I perceived by their books and practises, do all the world over pray for their *Pope* and pastour with a most tender affection; which I esteemed a piece of most civil piety practised in all ages for the comfort

and

and good of him they look upon as ſupreme head and governor of their religion under God upon earth. We may perceiv in the epiſtles of good St. *Paul*, that to pray for one another was a thing very familiar to the primitive Chriſtians; but when S. *Peter* their prince and head fell into danger, the whole Church then united their ſupplications in his behalf, as one in whoſe welfar they were univerſally and in a more peculiar manner all of them concerned: *Peter was kept in priſon*, ſaith the ſacred text in the Acts, *and prayer was made without intermiſſion by the Church unto God for him.* I doubt not but that they prayed likewiſe for other apoſtles too, that God would keep and bring them out of danger; but the writer of that ſtory gives us no notice of any univerſal prayer made for any one, but only *Him* the head and prince of all the whole congregation, therby to intimate the ſingular reſpect and love they did univerſally bear him.

But we in England do not more ordinarily call *a Spade a Spade*, than we do traduce, defame, execrate the Pope, and proclaim him, whom alſo we do not know, leud, wicked, ſenſual, proud, ſeducer, ſerpent, Antichriſt, and I know not what; and that not only in our ordinary ſociety but in books and ſermons; not only ſom of us but all hate him, not in England only but all proteſtant places; not now only but in all

all times since Protestancy began: and our very children by that time they come to be eight or nine year old are by our example and imitation inabled to say after us like parrets, *Pope is a rogue, pope is a rogue.* This behaviour of ours if it be not impious, yet no man I should think will after serious consideration deny it to be unmannerly. And what kind of spirit must this be, that delighes so much in defamations and curses! Surely the spirit of God is a meek civil and quiet spirit. Either the *Pope* is good, or evil; if he be good why do we hate him? if bad, why do we not pray for him, as gospel teaches us to do even for our enemies and sinners, but still defame and curs him to make him wors. I know much good he has don our land, even so much good as the Christianity we had from him hath ever wrought amongst us, but never any evil, no not in the least kind. Ministers above all other stand excessively ingaged to him even for the very bread they eat, for the formality of their clothes and cassocks they wear; for the pulpits they preach in, for the parishes and tithes they liv upon, for the universities they were brought up in; for the degrees they have taken there, and the canon of their ordination, for the catholick learned books they study, and the very gospel they either do or seem to preach: all which were originally from the Pope. And as for others of the

laicy, if the Churches they meet in once a week, and the hopes they have of a life to come, if the good wholsome laws of the land, if corporations or other orderly dispositions in the kingdom, if the antient *Militia* now almost abolished (wherin earls and marquesses commanded the counties, dukes over them, and the King over the dukes, that in a moment all the land might be up at his Majesties beck, and the like *militia* by sea, where admiral, vice admiral, and rere admiral were all subjected to the king, besides the train bands for defence of cities) so orderly and wisely instituted, if kingly authority and his crown land, if the orderly sittings and proceedings in Parliament, if dignities and titles of honour, if the decency of gowns and caps and modes and rules of government in colledges, halls and Innes of law, if our very fashion of preaching and administring sacraments, if all these and several such like things ordered and constituted amongst us be of any worth, or commendable, or may deserv any thanks, we must then be civil towards the Pope and his catholick believers who invented, disposed and ordered all these things for our good. And yet we are so far from thinking of any of these things which might civilise us towards him, that transported, we cannot our selves tell how, with animosity and passion, we inveigh endlesly not only against *Papists*, but even

against the *Pope* himself, who as he never hurt us, so likewise doth he even to this day wish us all both temporal and spiritual good.

And I should think we might hereupon take occasion to admire at the Popes great civility and temperance not again to be paralel'd in the world, who though he hath seen so many hundred virulent books writ against him, and heard more words; yet hath he never been known to let fall the least word of passion against any, nor move any engine for revenge: And thus much several of our countrimen have experienced of late years in Rome, where railing at the Pope even under his nose, as a wicked proud Antichrist, they received being called before him no other check but this: *My friends be peaceable while you are in my territories, lest the people should fall upon you and hurt you; when you are out of my territories say of me what you please.* I have seldom known any noble person, but if his honour were traduced, especially if falsly, undeservedly, and by an inferiour person, and frequently, and in a high degree, but he would move more or less to a just reveng of his right. Only the *Pape* goes quietly on in his cours as the full moon in the firmament, which heeds not at all the barkings of so many currs that vainly open their mouths against her. But in the interim can there be any thing more unseemly than a young Minister

in a pulpit here in England, vapouring and talking before a congregation, that come thither to hear Gods word, againſt a gentleman, a grave venerable perſon, a byſhop, a Prince, who alſo living a thouſand miles off hears not a word he ſaies, and if he did would heed it as little. We read a ſtory, in the book of *Kings*, of a company of boies that mockt at *Eliſeus* a grave and venerable perſon, as he was going up to *Bethel*, crying; *Up baldpate, up baldpate*; and the very bears iſſuing ſodainly out of the woods tore them in ſunder. May not we juſtly fear ſom ſuch like event for the like if not greater crime of ours ſhall fall upon us, who do not only call that venerable perſon and his prieſts *Baldpate*, but Antichriſt, frog, caterpillar, ſerpent, *&c.* Beſides the abſence of the perſon we calumniate, flout and expoſe to deriſion, is a circumſtance that does not a little aggravate the fact, and renders it no leſs fooliſh and irrational than 'tis unjuſt and rude. It is a wonder that our Proteſtant byſhops ſhould countenance theſe diſorders. A wiſe woman will not hear her child call her neigbour *Whore*, without the application of a juſt rebuke, knowing that ſuch like impudence being countenanced, may imbolden him at laſt to call *Her* ſo too. Indeed the judgment is already com home to our doors; for now our byſhops of England are as contumelioufly treated in the pulpits by

by their own ministers, as the byshop of Rome was by their connivance and applaus abused aforetime in the same place by the self-same persons. Nor have ther been any in this land more furiously bent these last twenty years against our good *King*, than they who to flatter our former princes most passionately reviled the *Pope*; and the seed of those men who in the dayes of *Edward* the sixth, Queen *Elisabeth* and King *James* plotted so vehemently against the Catholick Church and nobility even to their utter disgrace and ruin, under a pretens of establishing our State, were now the only great fighting sticklers against our state and Monarchy. I give only this note by the way, to teach all men to do to another as they would others do to them, and no otherwayes: for God is just and punishes all iniquity of men, (oftentimes with those very rods and scorpions, which themselves used before to plague their innocent neigbours) who when they knew the justice of God, yet would they not understand that they which do such things are worthy of death; and not only they who do them, but they also who consent and yield compliance to the doers.

But that I may a little lay open to my countreymen the unreasonablenes of our proceedings, in hating and reviling a person, whom Catholicks on the contrary do so much esteem and

love; to what I have already ſaid let thus much be added: That the *Pope* is one, whoſe whole life and ſtudy is to defend innocence, promote concord, and maintain unity of Faith in the world: nor is ther any man but he alone that looks to the general ſafety of all Chriſtianity; and in all times like a faithful paſtour he hath ſo don it, as if it were not ſo much his office to do it, as his nature. And this we might eaſily ſee if we would look over antient ſtories, and not ſuffer our ſelves to be miſled by the reports of thoſe who think themſelves undon, if he that would curb their extravagancies ſhould com to be thought of according to his true deſerts. I might make it good in many particulars: but I will content my ſelf only to run over briefly the eighteen general councels, that have been in ſeveral ages in the Chriſtian world, and their reſults and motives; whereby men may be perſwaded to think, that the *Pope* is ſo far from what we in England are made to conceiv of him, that he is the only man that hath fought in all times for the unity of faith, for concord and the good of all Chriſtendom; when other byſhops and beleevers under him began many of them to revolt and diſturb our welfar. Nor had we had any thing left us at this day either of truth or unity, humanly ſpeaking, had not he been ſet over us and watched to make and keep us happy even againſt ſom of our wills.

1. *Ar-*

1. *Arrius* a priest in *Alexandria* had seduced many priests, deacons, nuns, bysshops, and princes to beleev amiss against the divinity of *Jesus Christ* our Lord; when Pape *Sylvester* rose up against him and fought stoutly, for the honour of our *Messias* in his general councel at *Nice*, in the year 325. and so did other Popes his successours after him for som hundred years together.

2. Pape *Damasus* in the second general councel at *Constantinople* with the like spirit of fortitude maintained as valiantly the divinity of the Holy Ghost, against *Macedonius* priest and bysshop of Constantinople, and *Eunomius* that insolent Cappadocian, and all their retinue, as he did likewise that of Christ, an. 381.

3. When *Nestorius* a bysshop with his priest *Anastasius* gave great scandals in *Constantinople* by denying the Virgin *Mary* to be mother of God, for that in Christ they said were two persons, and one of them was the son of the virgin, the other son of God; Pape *Celestin* stood up and quelled them and all their adherents in his councel at *Ephesus* in the year 430.

4. Pape *Leo* in a fourth general councel at *Chalcedon* an. 450 stopped the mouths of *Eutyches* an Abbot in *Constantinople*, and *Dioscorus* deacon in *Alexandria*; who by their great dislike of *Nestorius* opinion ran into the other extream, and affirmed Christ our Lord to have

not only one person, but one nature too; which was as scandalous and as much against the faith of believers as was the former.

5. In the fifth general council at *Constantinople* an. 553. when all the oriental part of the Church was in a combustion about the three heads or contents of *Theodore* bishop of Mopsuestien, an epistle of *Ibas*, and *Theodoret* bishop of Cyrus his writings against S. *Cyril*, who had been all three honourably mentioned in the council of *Chalcedon*, and yet their writings were then found very scandalous and faulty; Pope *Vigilius* though very sick and weak, yet by his writings from his chamber he laboured abundantly and to good effect to assuage the feud.

6. Pope *Agatho* in the sixth general synod at *Constantinople* an. 680. when *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, *Macarius* and many other learned unquiet priests and bishops monothelites, had spread the *Eutichian* heresy under other notions, and taught that Christ had but one will and operation, with much offence to the people; he rose up and manfully resisted and subdued them.

7. Pope *Adrian* combated no less for the use of images and crucifix against *Gregorius Neocaesarienſis*, *Paul* patriarch of *Constantinople*, and several other *Iconoclasts*, who tore and preached them down contrary to the judgment and practis both of the Christians then living and all their

their predeceſſors, in the ſeventh general councel at *Nice* an. 787. And in one and the ſame place was maintained by the whole catholick world both the images and divinity of the crucified Meſſias.

8. Not long after in the eight general councel at *Conſtantinople* an. 869. Pape *Adrian* the ſecond defended the innocence of the great patriarch *Ignatius* whom ſubtile *Photius* by the help of ſome potentates in *Conſtantinople* had expelled his byſhoprick, and put himſelf in his place, miſerably haraſſing and vexing both the good prelate *Ignace* and all his adherents, to the great diſturbance of the Eaſt who were all in a hot feud about it.

9. In the ninth general councel at *Lateran* an. 1122 when after infinity of troubles the Church had recovered her peace, Pape *Callixtus* the ſecond like a good vigilant paſtour laboured to reſtore the antient diſciplin much abated by wars and factions; recovered the eccleſiaſtick inveſtitures out of the hands of emperour *Henricus* who had invaded them, and moved Chriſtian princes to a war in the holy land, for the caus of *Jeſus* Chriſt there blaſphemed where he ſhould principally be honoured; and the aſſiſtance of diſtreſſed Chriſtianity againſt the Turk: good works all, and which none but he would have heeded to effect.

10. Pape *Innocent* the ſecond, when *Peter de Lions*

Lions his antipope had filled Christendom with wars and factions, and *Peter de Bruis* had no less corrupted their judgments with heresies against baptism, temples, almes deeds, and offerings, rose up and manfully fought them both, for the recovery of truth and peace of Christianity, in his tenth oecumenical councel at *Lateran* an. 1139.

11. Some while after in the time of Pape *Alexander* the third, the Christian world was no less rent asunder both by the faction of a competitour of his called *Victor* the second, and the heresies of the *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*; against both which the said *Pape* called his eleventh councel at *Lateran* an. 1179 and made provision there most carefully against any the like disturbance upon such occasion.

12. Pape *Innocent* the third did the world no less good service in his twelfth general councel at *Lateran* an. 1215. where he judged and condemned the heresies of those times which infected and troubled the world, censured abbot *Joachim* his book against *Magister sententiarum*, and wicked *Almaricus* who denied the real presence, and resurrection, &c. and exhorted all Christian princes to the recovery of the holy land, which had been regained by the joint endeavours of the Christian world in Pape *Urban* the seconds time, *Godfrey of Bullen* being there made King of Jerusalem, but after 90. years

was

was loſt again in the daies of Pope *Urban* the third, whoſe ſucceſſour *Gregory* the eight and his followers till this *Innocent* the third did much lament and labour to help the loſs, but *Innocent* had more hopes by reaſon that *Baldwin* earl of Flanders was then made emperour of *Conſtantinople*.

13. Pope *Innocent* the fourth found a great deal of trouble in the world, and to heal the malady he called a general ſynod at *Lions* an. 1245. which was the thirteenth oecumenical councel againſt the cruelties of emperour *Frederick* who filled Chriſtendom with wars and bloodſhed, whence aroſe the faction of the *Gwelfs* and *Gibellines*, againſt the tiranny of the Saracens, the perfidiouſnes of the greeks who plotted at *Conſtantinople* the deſtruction of all the Latines, and againſt the irruption of the Tartarians who ruined Poland and Hungary.

14. A little afterwards, when now *Michael Paleologus* had got the empire of Greece by the expulſion of *Baldwin*, and the greeks began to fall back to ſome of their former errours, denying the Holy Ghoſts proceſſion, ſacrifice in unleavened bread, and ſome faſts: ſo that much combuſtion happened upon this occaſion in the oriental Church, Pope *Gregory* the tenth called the fourteenth councel at *Lions* an. 1274. for the healing theſe diſorders, recovery of the holy land, and union of the Greeks.

15. In

15. In the year 1311 when the knights *Templers* began to give some offence in the Christian world, or at least the King of *France* and other princes pretended so, and the *Bogards* and *Beguines* a kind of religious people in *Germany* sowed some errours up and down, to the great scandal of people. Pape *Clement* the fift called a councel at *Vienna* to rectify both, as also for recovery of the holy land and reformation of discipline then much decayed in the Church.

16. But still there was much division in the oriental part of the Church among the greeks, who denied many of them the procession of the Holy Ghost from the second person of the Trinity, the felicity of the blessed, and purgatory in the Churches antient sens, and the primacy of the Roman See, which although they held in the primitive times for many ages together, yet they sank into that dangerous errour by degrees; for after that they had got an emperour in *Constantinople* absolute and independent, they motioned in councels kept in those times for the most part in the oriental parts, first that the byshop of that See for the honour of the empire might be made a Patriarch, then afterwards that he might have place before other antient patriarchs who had the right of precedency before him, and then at last they would have him independent as the emperour himself was in temporals: thus by degrees

degrees running themselvs into schisms. To prevent these errours and factions Pape *Eugenius* the fourth called the sixteenth general councel at *Florence* an. 1439. where by means of *Josephus* patriarch of *Constantinople* and other grave grecian prelates there assembled, the union betwixt the Greeks and Latins was made up.

17. In the year 1512 was kept the seaventeenth councel at *Lateran* under Pape *Julius* the second and *Leo* the tenth to mitigate a great schisme raised by means of an episcopal conversion at *Pisa* called together by cardinal *Caravail* and *Sanseverin* without the Papes autority, both which came in here and submitted, as also to bring Christian princes to mutual concord, to stop the freqnent argumentations that were too vehemently urged in schools out of Aristotle against the souls immortality, and to hasten an expedition against the Turk.

18. And lastly three Popes one after another, *Paulus*, *Julius*, and *Pius* fought successively with equal resolution against *Luther* and *Calvin* and several others of their apostate priests, for internal justification, the possibility and merit of doing well, the truth and efficacy of the seaven sacraments, prayers for the dead, intercession of saints, and indulgences, in the great oecumenical councel of *Trent*.

There have been in the Church besides these greater

greater councels ſix hundred other national, provincial, diocesan ſynods, over and above thoſe which S. *Peter* kept with the apoſtles in *Jeruſalem*; which being called together upon ſeveral occurrences were all licenſed guided and directed by the *Popes* of thoſe times, who kept continual correſpondence with the prelates while they ſate in councel: and if any ſynod either oppoſed him or ſwarved from his directions, it was looked upon by the reſt of Chriſtendom as reprobate on that account.

I ſhould be too tedious, if I ſhould declare the indefatigable induſtry, high wiſdom and piety of Popes, in ſteering the Ship of the Church both in the calms of peace that ſhe might not then lye hulling and idle, but make good progreſs towards bliſs; and alſo in the ſtrang ſtorms and tempeſts that the malignity of this world have raiſed againſt her, which have been ſo great and various, that one would have thought by the many leaks that ſprang in her at times, the exceſſive beatings of decuman billows upon her ſides, the dangerous hidden rocks on which ſhe has daſht unawares, and the greater apparent ones ſhe has been carried upon by the violence of wind and weather not humanly to be avoided, that ſhe could never have laſted to this day. But thanks be to *Him* that provided a wiſe and vigilant Pilot, with whom he ſits himſelf inviſibly at the ſtern to guide

him

him and such as voiage in the same ship with him unto all truth even to the consummation of the world.

Histories will tell us how careful and more then humanly happy *Popes* have been in all ages, in reconciling Christian Princes, and resolving difficulties between them, that they might either desist from wars or not fall into them; how laborious in going and sending to and fro for that end, in hearing, agitating their affairs, propounding, supplicating their condescension to what appeared just, so far as either his reason, sacred autority of his place or most earnest prayers could prevail: of all which how solicitously it hath been performed even in our time our very gazets and news books have given us sufficient notice, in the great vigilance and indefatigable endeavours for that end, of the three last Popes, *Urban*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*. And no less care and industry of theirs hath ever appeared in examining of doctrines, in counselling and perswading high spirited children ready to fly out into heresies to humility & resignation, in governing both the divers and great Universities of Christendom full of great wits and high spirits, and the many bodies of Religious which be all subjected under him as other parts of the Church be, and are so numerous that one would hardly beleev ther should be so many religious houses in the Christian world,

world, all serving God night and day with that silence order and cleanliness, every one in his way and institute, that it is the goodliest thing in the world to behold. St. *Benet* rose in the sixth age of the Church about the year 520. and yet about the year 1480. it is written that there were then of his order fifteen thousand monasteries in the world: and the other families of S. *Francis*, S. *Augustine*, S. *Dominick*, the *Society* and others, are none of them much less numerous. And all these families have still recours to the Pope both for their rule and statutes, and for all difficulties that may occurre in their spiritual government: Lastly in solving the cases, and salving the many sad occurrencies that are and have been continually brought unto him, from the Prelats, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs of several parts of Christendom, about heresies, schismes, misdemeanours, hazzards, and persecutions, either imminent or incumbent. And who can be sufficient for all these things? None surely, but he that is singularly assisted from heaven.

And Christ our Lord in my judgment hath no less shown his divinity and power in the Pope, than in himself, as much in his spiritual and mystick as he did in his natural body: and the life indeed which by his Spirit he livs in his Church is in a manner the very same with his natural one: now praying, now disputing amongst

amongſt the doctours, now faſting, then watching, then healing the ſick, and working miracles; then perſecuted, maligned, envied; ſomtimes at a feaſt, ſomtimes hungrying, ſomtimes making merry with a loaf of bread and few fiſhes, the diſciples now defending their maiſter, now the maiſter defending his diſciples, &c. for ſo the Pope protects innocent beleevers, and theſe again defend him. But of all thoſe glorious things our Lord did in his life time, converſion of people, confutation of phariſaical oppoſers, releeving of poor, healing of diſeaſes and the like, he hath ſhown greater abundance in his Church than in himſelf, according as himſelf promiſed; *Ye ſhall do greater things than theſe.* Which confutes the antient calumny of our old adverſary the Jew, who aſcribed all our Lords miraculous operations either to ſom gipſie tricks he learnt when he was in Egypt, or to ſom evil ſpirit he had got to attend his perſon: either of which had it been true had failed with his perſon, and his power had not extended to his Church. And all things conſidered I think I may truly ſay that Chriſt in the Pope and Church is more miraculous than he was in his own perſon: and I doubt not but the nativity of his Church, and miraculous converſation, paſſion, reſurrection and aſcenſion ſhall be the ſame with his. So that he who contemns the Pope contemns

Christ who presides in him, and he that contemns the Church villifies his spirit which livs and moves and animates that body.

I could be very copious in this subject; but I must not be prolix in any thing. I only desire my reader to consider this one thing, which after serious thought he will find to be true, that if there had not been Popes in all ages both to conserv and propagate faith, we had either never heard any news of Christianity here in England, or not kept it undisturbedly so long. All the whole gospel and body of Christianity is his, purely his, and from him we received it. Nay the first great fundamental of Christian religion which is the truth and divinity of Christ, had it not been for him, had failed long ago in the world: and what then had becom of all the rest? For after Pope *Sylvester* according to the faith of his ancestors had by means of his three Legates, great *Osius* byshop of Cordubs, *White* and *Vincent* two priests, established in the first councel of *Nice* the said divinity of Christ our Lord, wherein he is consubstantial to that almighty one who made the earth and stars, against *Arrius* and his allies, who began to teach the contrary, it is incredible to say what frequent murmurations reforts and conciliar meetings were made afterward up and down the world, by the priests and bishops who had drunk in the contrary opinion, and in that point

point deserted him, against their *Pope* and Pastour for three or four hundred years together, till in a manner all the whole Church, not only clergy but laiety and the princes of Christendom opposed him in it, while the Pope now left in a manner alone, or with a very thin retinue of beleevers, and all his successors one after another fought even to sweat and blood, for the vindication of that great Christian article even against the whole world. And he so far overcame at length, that there be scarcely in these dayes any that doubt of that, which the *Pope* only by the authority of his place and title wrought out of the very fire: Whence I may truly say that *Christ* is the *Popes* God; for if the Pope had not been, or had not been so vigilant and resolute a pastour as he is, Christ whom the Pope both worships himself and proposes to the world to worship as the very God that made all things, had not been taken now, for any such person as he is beleeved this day. And let men talk what they will by their vain philosophy, this I will boldly say and am assured of, that if the Pope be not an unerring guide in affairs of religion, that way I mean I have shown him in all ages to exercise his guidance, all is lost. A man once rid of the controul of his autority may as easily deride and as solidly confute the incarnation, as the sprinkling of holy water; nor could the rea-

ſon of the whole earth be able to convince him.

And after all this ſhall children and boyes jeer and revile in our ſtreets and pulpits this ſacred majeſty of the *Pope*, whom the vertue, wit, valour and nobility of all Chriſtendom hath ever ſo highly honoured; and we if we conſider things as we ought can never love too much? ſhall we caſt unjuſt and vile contumelies upon him who holding a ſolicitude for all the Churches of Chriſt, has ſo many millions of the greateſt ſpirits in the world depending upon his lips for direction and truth; with whom and under whom have concurred in his general councels ſo many thouſands of renowned prelates, venerable byſhops, princely cardinals, grave patriarchs, ſubtile divines and doctours, Abbots and Generals of orders, oratours, chancellours, knights and barons ſent to his aſſiſtance by the Kings and Potentates of Chriſtendom, the very ſtars of our earthly hemiſphere, met together either to make up or grace and ſtrengthen his great councel convened in ſubordination to his legates: nay emperours themſelves have thought it an addition of honour to ſit in that ſolemn and thrice venerable aſſembly, though in a ſeparated place: Shall we I ſay, mock and revile this ſacred perſon; Let not ſuch a thing be ſaid of us any more! let it not be told in *Gath*, or the ſtreets

of

of *Askalon*, that we use any such rude behaviour, lest the very uncircumcised Philistins condemn our vast inexcusable incivility.

Nor yet let us either envy or malign the respect which Pappists give to Him from whom they received their Christianity, and by whose vigilance and care it hath been kept inviolate amongst them, from its first ingres into the land even to this very day. Shall our eye be therfor evil, becaus theirs is good.

§. 30.

Popery.

IN the more flourishing doctrins of Popery I could be largely copious: but I have said as much as may suffice my intended purpos, which was so far to excuse, only to excuse even that religion also; that if all do not embrace, yet none may persecute and hate it. Wherefor I do purposly omit to speak of other more plausible parts of Catholick religion, *viz.* 1. The obligation which all who believ in Christ have to attend unto good works, and the merit and benefit of so doing. 2. The possibility of keeping Gods commandements with the assistance of divine grace. 3. The liberty and freedom of human will either to comply with grace or resist it. 4. The sacred counsel and excellency of divine vowes. 5. The right and obligation

to restitution when any one shall have wronged his neighbour, either in his soul or body, fame, goods or estate. 6. The power and autority of the Church in her tradition and decisions. 7. The fasts and abstinence at certain times from som kind of meats, which is all the religion we read Adam was injoined to observ in Paradise, that we may therby be more apt to acknowledg Gods gifts and goodnes at those times we enjoy other good things of his bounty and at other times them, and to sanctify our spirit for divine retirements. 8. The divine ordination, and unspeakable comfort and benefit of Confession. 9. The cælibate and single life of the clergy, who thereby freed from much solicitude of this world, though not without som troublesom struggling against unseemly lusts of youth, may approach the alear like angels of God who neither marry nor are given in marriage. 10. The doctrin of indulgencies, which be nothing els but a releas from som temporal penalties due to sin after repentance and remission; which the Church does generally bestow by commutation, as when for example an indulgence of such penalties for so many dayes or years is granted unto such as upon the time appointed shall repent and confess, fast, pray, give almes, and communicate for the Churches preservation and concord of Christian Princes; which is a doctrin as rational and well grounded as any in

Chri-

Christianity though we in England will not understand it. 11. Finally, the ecclesiastick hierarchy and supremacy, whereby Catholick religion like a flourishing fair tree, spreads his boughs in several kingdoms of the earth even from sea to sea, so united all of it in all its parts and connexed together, that ther is no catholick upon earth but is under some priest, all priests subordinated to their bishops, these to their metropolitan, all metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and Patriarchs united in the Papal cone: every leaf cleavs to som twig, every twig to som branch, every branch to som bough, every bough to the bole, and the bole to the root. And several other such like points of the Roman religion, which coming all together from one hand have stood unchangeable in all ages the same, and depending all upon the verity of the first revealer have an equality of truth, tho not of weight.

These and several others, with the other half dozen more offensive doctrins I have cleared and explicated, our Reformers cut off at one blow; when they taught us that it would suffice to salvation only to beleev in Christ, without any more ado: and that other things were popish superstitions: whereby we became a strang kind of servants that beleev their master, but heed not either to fulfill his orders, or do his commands. For they told us and we have hi-

therto beleeved it: That ther be no such things as good works pleasing to God; but all be as menstruous rags, filthy, odious and damnable in the sight of heaven: That if it were otherwis, yet are they not in our power: That with the assistance of any grace to be had Gods commandements are impossible to be kept, and it would be therefor vain to attempt it; especially sith we have in us no strength of free will to act any thing but evill: That it must needs be foolishnes to vow unto God, sith we can do nothing we ought to do; and no less foolish if we have vowed to pay it: That what wrong soever we do to another, God is merciful and restitution fruitles, both becaus one sin cannot make satisfaction for another, nor any thing clear us but the blood of Christ alone; unto which if we should concurr our selves by doing good works or satisfying for ill, we should be half our own redeemers: That the Church which presumes to teach other things than we allow, is a fals mistres, distracted, and knows not what she sayes: That to fast from sin is fast enough, without depriving our stomachs of good flesh when we have a mind to it; and yet becaus we sin in every thing we do, neither is that fast possible to be kept: That confession is needless, *How can man forgive sins:* That our clergy find themselvs men and not angels, and love women as well as others, and first revolted

volted from popery principally for their ſakes, preferring a good wife before the whore of Babylon: the altars that kept them aſunder are thrown down, the honeſt pulpit ſtanding now ſolitary ſpeaks for them, and brings them happily together: That of indulgencies there is no need, ſince obligation to penalties is ſhaken off long ago by our own autority without any indulgence from another: That papal ſupremacy is the only obſtacle to our liberty, and therfor it muſt be aboliſhed: And let popery hang together as cloſe as it can, it ſhall go hard but we will find a battery to ſhake it.

So much indeed hath ſophiſtry and continual clamour againſt *popery*, and ſtate puniſhments lying ever moſt heavily upon the profeſſours of it, prevailed over our judgments, that now ther is no goodnes no worth, no truth in it, no none at all: it is all naught, all and every part of it naught, nothing but naughtines, ſuperſtition and vanity. All that I will ſay for the preſent is this: If *popery* be a bad religion more is the pitty; for the profeſſors of it ſuffer as much for it, as might well ſerv for a good one. Millions of people for the beleef they have in it, and the love they bear its holy counſels and promiſes of future reward, do voluntarily and of their own accord forſake the world and all worldly pleaſures to ſerv God night and day in poverty, humility, and chaſtity: and multi-

tudes

tudes of others of a ſecular condition in ſeveral parts of the earth have rather choſen to live an afflicted life in this world, contemned, abuſed, pillaged, beaten, put to death by their perſecutours, than to forſake that religion; and theſe too as noble and wiſe perſons many of them as any the earth had had.

But if any will yet be contentious, and maintain his hatred ſtill againſt *Popery*, I earneſtly requeſt he would ſeriouſly ponder theſe few following *Queries* which I borrowed of a friend.

It will not be deny'd but that the Church of Rome was once a moſt pure, excellent, flouriſhing, and Mother Church; for this is not only by good St. Paul amply teſtified in his epiſtle to the ſaid Romans, but acknowledged alſo by Whitaker in his anſwer to Dr. Sanders, by White in his defence of his way, by Fulk and Reinolds; and alſo by K. James in his ſpeech to the Parliament.

This Church could not ceas to be ſuch, but ſhe muſt fall either by Apoſtaſie, Hereſie, or Schiſm.

I. *Apoſtaſie is not onely a renouncing of the Faith of Chriſt, but the very name and title to Chriſtianity: No man will ſay, that the Church of Rome had ever ſuch a fall, or fell thus.*

II. *Hereſie is an adheſion to ſome private and ſingular opinion, or errour in Faith, contrary to the general approved Doctrin of the Church.*

If the Church of Rome did ever adhere to any ſingu-

ſingular or new opinion diſagreeable to the common received Doctrin of the Chriſtian world, I pray ſatisfie me as to theſe particulars, viz.

1. *By what General Council was ſhe ever condemned?*

2. *Which of the Fathers ever writ againſt Her? Or,*

3. *By what authority was ſhe otherwiſe reproved? For,*

It ſeems to me to be a thing very incongruous, that ſo great a Church ſhould be condemned by every one that hath a minde to condemn her.

III. *Schiſm is a departure or diviſion from the Unity of the Church, whereby the Band and communion held with ſom former Church, is broken and diſſolved.*

If ever the Church of Rome divided her ſelf by Schiſme from any other body of faithful Chriſtians, or break communion, or went forth from the Society of any Elder Church: I pray ſatisfie me as to theſe particulars.

1. *Whoſe company did She leave?*

2. *From what body did She go forth?*

3. *Where was the true Church which ſhe forſook?*

For it appears ſomwhat ſtrange to me, that a Church ſhould be accounted ſchiſmatical, when ther cannot be aſſigned any other Church different from her, which from age to age, ſince Chriſt his time hath continued viſible, from whence She departed.

If

If these *Queries* were well pondered; or if men would once believ, as most true it is, that by irrefragable principles which all must needs acknowledg who will own a Christianity in general, *Popery* may be proved to be as good a religion as the best; then *Facta est Lux*. But this is a little beyond my intention, which aims no further than only to put our passions to a demur; for which it may suffice us to think that Popery is not ill. And if I should yet say more and endeavour to prove it good, those that be of that Way will say I speak too little; and they who be not, will think I say too much. We in England are ever violently bent upon that we set upon, and will not indure to be taken off from our prejudice: although *cum pace*, and with the favour of my good and deerest countrey, this is but a weaknes of judgment, rather than any commendable manhood. But yet if any should chance to be further desirous to see the positive articles and grounds of that Religion, he may enquire after their books, whereof the world is full in all languages. And if that cours like him not, three of our own most eminent Protestant divines have of late don enough to our hands; Dr. *Baily* in his *End to controversies*, Dr. *Vane* in his *Lost sheep returned*, and Dean *Cressy* in his *Exomologesis*; of all whom by reason of their great learning, exquisite inquiry after truth, the many

many inconveniences they incurred in this world by at length profeſſing a verity, which they could in conſcience no longer ſmother, their education here amongſt us and unity of countrey, we may haply have a better conceit, and leſs ſuſpicion, than of any other. Dr. *Baily* does ſo ſolidly ſet down the irrefragable foundations of that antient Chriſtianity, that none I think can ſuſpect it either new or ill. Dr. *Vane* to his ſubſtantial diſcours addes ſuch a ſweetnes of rhetorick, that he both ſatisfies and delights. But great *Creſſy* in my mind excells: for he proceeds with ſuch a ſerious prudence, exact judgment, and induſtrious care, that any even the ſevereſt eye our land can afford, ſhall find in his diſcours moſt full content.

And I am verily perſwaded, if the great wits among Catholicks would but ſtudy as much to adorn their faith, as they do their philoſophical ſubtilities wherein they are excellently acute, a way might yet be found out, beſides the ordinary tract of controvertiſts, whereby Catholick religion appearing in her own ſimplicity and connatural dreſs, might ſeem even to her moſt earneſt adverſaries, to be as indeed it is the very iſſue of divine wiſdom, pure, holy and immaculate, notwithſtanding the great prejudice we have here againſt it. Many great wits in the catholick world do fully beleev, that if we, even we here in England could but once ſee

Popery

Popery in its own ſhape, we ſhould infallibly conclude it to be not only a good religion but the beſt, and not only the beſt but the only one ſole Chriſtianity which Chriſt planted upon earth, and which every right reaſon that admits of Chriſt muſt needs approve. Som ſuch ſpeech had fallen amongſt other conferences in the three laſt dialogues of the Reclaimed Papiſt, if they had been finiſhed. But I conceived it would be, by reaſon of our general unwillingnes to hear ſuch news, a fruitles labour; and becaus it is over and over don already to our hands in other methods, in a manner needles. I beleev too, that I was hindred in that work, that it might be left to ſom better hand, for mine is too weak for it. It is now beſides, at leaſt beyond my preſent purpos: and the times wherein we live, which look upon Popery with an eye of prejudice, will not indure to hear any poſitive commendations of that old ejected Beldame.

It will rather be expected by many, that I ſhould, before I end my diſcours, let fall ſomthing, either more or leſs, againſt the Papiſt too, as well as others, that I may appear indifferent unto all. And enough indeed might be ſaid: for the faces of all mankind are now adayes beſmeared with black patches. But it becoms not me to tell other people of their faults, who living at home all alone with my

ſelf

ſelf find enough to do to obſerve mine own; nor have I either the autority, place, ability, or will to do it. It is the religion *in abſtracto*, and not *in concreto*, (as logicians ſpeak) not papiſts but popery I excuſe. Their faults if they have any, it concerns themſelvs to look unto. And if I have let fall a gain-ſaying word againſt any other, it was no more than what his heady proceedings with his neigbours beſides all rules of vertue and reaſon, forced me to do. The whole land is in a deſperate fray about religion, one party getting upon the backs of another, and inſulting with a moſt unſeemly outrage over their perſons, ſtates and lives: the Proteſtant had got upon the Papiſt, whom after he had cuffed, maligned, harraſſed all manner of wayes for fourſcore years and upward, the Presbyterian leapt upon him, and that he might enter into both their livelihoods, buffeted them both: he was no ſooner up, but the Independent beſtrid the Presbyterian and knocked them all three. And then it began to be propounded in Parliament (as we received the news in London about ſeven years ago) that the three P. P. P. Papiſt, Proteſtant, and Presbyterian ſhould be declared the Popes triple crown, utterly to be aboliſhed from the earth. But the third P. was it ſeems as yet ſtrong enough even there, to Put a Period to the Propoſition. Wherefor the Independent

who

who mounted laſt, and got up ſo in couples that he had almoſt choaked all the reſt; was firſt to be taken off (which was don in the very beginning of the Book) and then the others in order, and no more to be ſaid, than what was neceſſary to ſeparate the fray, and ſet every one upon his own legs; that in a cool paus they may all lay their hands upon their hearts and conſider what they do. Againſt the Papiſt oppreſſed by all ſides I have no need to ſpeak any thing; nor does the end and chief motive of my book carry me on to ſay any more than only this; that they are innocent, and upon the account of religion rather to be loved than hated. Too much has been ſaid and don againſt them already, and more than can ever be made good. In the interim I pray God in his great mercy to forgive our land, and imprint into all our hearts a right underſtanding and perfect charity. My intended work is finiſhed; and although I could ſay more, yet neither the times, nor my paper already too much ſwelled, will well bear it: my mind alſo calls for freedom, and my pen is dulled.

Acta eſt pars acroamatica,
ſequitur moralis.

Fifth

Fifth Chapter.

Moral topicks for charity and peace.

§. 31.

Mas comedido ſuppléco.

AS without the indifferency and moderation I have hitherto laboured to implant, ther cannot be in us any capacity of a right underſtanding: ſo ther be yet ſom moral topicks remaining which are apt to implant this moderation and indifferency; as to conſider firſt, the ſad precipices men have run themſelvs and others by their headines and temerarious obſtinacy in their opinions and conceits about religion: ſecondly, that the connatural excellency of a good Chriſtian conſiſts not in finding new wayes to the reformation of other mens thoughts, but putting in practis the old received well known dictates of ſobriety, juſtice and piety in our ſelves: thirdly, that charity, which the apoſtle makes to be the end and higheſt perfection of religion and indeed all vertue, ſuggeſts good and moderate thoughts of our neighbour, *&c.* But theſe and ſuch like topicks be a ſubject fitter for a pious preacher than a civil logician: and ſo leav them. What I ſhould ſpeak at this

time unto any such purpos, take it in the golden words and phrase of the honourable Lord Chancellour the Oratour of the Land.

Gentlemen, the distempers of religion which have too too much disturbed the peace of this Kingdom is a sad argument indeed; It is a consideration that must make every religious heart to bleed, to see religion which should be the strongest obligation and cement of affection and brotherly kindnes and compassion, made now by the pervers wranglings of passionate and froward men, the ground of all animosity hatred malice and revenge. And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no question the divine nature exceedingly abhorrs) sometimes and I fear too frequently transports those who are in the right as well as those who are in the wrong; and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when men who find their manners and dispositions very conformable in all the necessary obligations of humane nature avoid one anothers conversation, and grow first unsociable and then uncharitable to each other; becaus one cannot think as the other doth. And from this separation we intitle God to the patronage of and concernment in our fancies and distinction, and purely for his sake hate one another heartily.

It was not so of old when one of the most antient Fathers of the Church tells us; that love and charity was so signal and eminent in the primitive Christians, that it even drew admiration and envy

from

from their greatest adversaries, Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligunt. Their adversaries in that in which they most agreed, in their very prosecution of them had their passions and animosities among themselves; they were only Christians that loved and cherished and comforted and were ready to dye for one another. Quid nunc dicerent illi Christiani si nostra viderent tempora, sayes the incomparable Grotius. How would they look upon our sharp & virulent contentions in the debates of Christian religion and the bloody wars that have proceeded from those contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the marks which are to attend upon the true Church, except onely that which is inseparable from it, Charity to one another.

My Lords and Gentlemen. This disquisition hath cost the King many a sigh, many a sad hour, when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant religion hath undergone from the divisions and distractions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom. What paines he hath taken to compose them, after several discourses with learned and pious men of different perswasions you may *see by a declaration he* hath *published upon that occasion, by which you see his great indulgence to those who can have any protection from conscience to differ with their brethren. And I hope God will so bless the candour of his Majesty in the condescentions he makes, that the Church as well as the State will return to that unity and*

unanimi-

unanimity, which will make both king and people as happy as they can hope to be in this world.

If aught yet remain to be said, in the heavenly words of blessed St. Paul I shall conclude it all. *Quosdam quidam posuit Deus, &c.* Some hath God set over us in his Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctours, then vertues, then graces of healing, opitulations, gubernations, sorts of tongues. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all doctours? are all vertues? have all men the grace of healings? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? But do you emulate the better graces. And I do yet show unto you a more excelling way. If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity I am but as sounding brass and tingling cimbal. And if I shall have prophesy, and know all mysteries & all sciences and if I shall have all faith so that I can transplate mountains, and have not charity I am nothing, &c.

This is the great rule of our happines and square of all perfection. *Et quicunque hanc regulam secuti fuerint, pax super illos, & misericordia, & super Israel Dei.*

FINIS.